

The ROMANIZATION of CENTRAL SPAIN

Complexity, Diversity and Change in a Provincial Hinterland

LEONARD A. CURCHIN



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A NOTE ON PLACE NAMES

With the exception of ancient towns of known location, sites are referred to by their modern name, followed in parentheses by the abbreviation of the province in which they are located:

BU Burgos	SG Segovia
CR Ciudad Real	SO Soria
CU Cuenca	TE Teruel
GU Guadalajara	TO Toledo
M Madrid	VA Valladolid
P Palencia	Z Zaragoza
R La Rioja	ZA Zamora

Ancient towns of known location are referred to by their ancient name. Here are the modern equivalents:

<i>Arcobriga</i>	Monreal de Ariza (Z)
<i>Augustobriga</i>	Muro de Agreda (SO)
<i>Bilbilis</i>	Calatayud (Z)
<i>Cauca</i>	Coca (SG)
<i>Clunia</i>	Peñalba de Castro (BU)
<i>Complutum</i>	Alcalá de Henares (M)
<i>Consabura</i>	Consuegra (TO)
<i>Contrebia Carbica</i>	Fosos de Bayona (CU)
<i>Contrebia Leucade</i>	Inestrillas (R)
<i>Ercavica</i>	Cañaveruelas (CU)
<i>Intercatia</i>	Paredes de Nava (P)
<i>Laminium</i>	Alhambra (CR)
<i>Mantua</i>	Villamanta (M)
<i>Nertobriga</i>	Calatorao (Z)
<i>Numantia</i>	Garray (SO)
<i>Palantia</i>	Palencia (P)
<i>Pisoraca</i>	Herrera de Pisuerga (P)

<i>Rauda</i>	Roa (BU)
<i>Saldania</i>	Saldaña (P)
<i>Segisamo</i>	Sasamón (BU)
<i>Segobriga</i>	Saelices (CU)
<i>Segontia</i>	Sigüenza (GU)
<i>Segovia</i>	Segovia (SG)
<i>Septimanca</i>	Simancas (VA)
<i>Termes</i>	Montejo de Tiermes (SO)
<i>Toletum</i>	Toledo (TO)
<i>Turiaso</i>	Tarazona (Z)
<i>Uxama</i>	El Burgo de Osma (SO)
<i>Valeria</i>	Valera de Arriba (CU)

ABBREVIATIONS

Journals

<i>AEspA</i>	<i>Archivo Español de Arqueología</i> , Madrid, 1925–.
<i>BAEAA</i>	<i>Boletín de la Asociación Española de Amigos de la Arqueología</i> , Madrid, 1974–.
<i>BRAH</i>	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia</i> , Madrid, 1877–.
<i>BSAA</i>	<i>Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología</i> , Valladolid, 1932–.
<i>CNA</i>	<i>Congreso Nacional de Arqueología</i> , Zaragoza, 1950–.
<i>MM</i>	<i>Madrid Mitteilungen</i> , Madrid, 1960–.
<i>MMAp</i>	<i>Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos Provinciales</i> , Madrid, 1940–.
<i>NAH</i>	<i>Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico</i> , Madrid, 1952–.
<i>NAH-Arq</i>	<i>Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico – Arqueología</i> , Madrid, 1972–7.
<i>PITTM</i>	<i>Publicaciones de la Institución ‘Tello Téllez de Meneses’</i> , Palencia, 1949–.
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revista de Arqueología</i> , Madrid, 1980–.
<i>RABM</i>	<i>Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos</i> , Madrid, 1871–.
<i>WAH</i>	<i>Wad-Al-Hayara</i> , Guadalajara, 1974–.
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphie</i> , Bonn, 1967–.

Epigraphic collections

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> , Paris, 1888–.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin, 1863–.
<i>HAE</i>	<i>Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica</i> , Madrid, 1950–69.
<i>HEp</i>	<i>Hispania Epigraphica</i> , Madrid, 1989–.
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin, 1882–1916.

INTRODUCTION

History is a fraud, a subjective interpretation of events accepted as objective truth.

(Eliot Hayes)

For every problem there is one solution which is simple, neat, and wrong.

(H.L. Mencken)

What was it like to be a Celtiberian in the Roman world? This simply-stated problem evokes more questions than answers. What do we understand by 'Celtiberian' and 'Roman'? Would Celtiberians under Roman rule still think of themselves as 'Celtiberian', or as 'Roman'? And to which phase of the Roman world are we referring: the second century BC, the age of Augustus, the Late Empire? Then again, is our hypothetical Celtiberian male or female, rich or poor, urban or rural? Would such a person still be living in Celtiberia, or would they profit from the employment opportunities and material comforts available on the Mediterranean coast of Spain, or at Rome itself?

Previous generations of scholars neither asked nor cared how a Celtiberian would have reacted to being part of the Roman world. But in recent years, the research agenda for Roman history has shifted dramatically. The focus is no longer on consuls and battles, but on long-term trends and socio-cultural issues. Traditional historical questions arising from the annalistic ancient sources have yielded their primacy to such unconventional concerns as demography, gender studies and economic modelling. In this altered climate, the study of Romanization must embrace new techniques and consider new themes, including human behaviour, personal and group values, and the construction of identity. Though historians still find it convenient to objectify the elements of Romanization as cities, religion, language, and so on, these are not so much 'things' as reflections of human activity. Cultural transformation is really about changes in people's behaviour.

Regional studies, both in Italy and in the provinces, have proved highly remunerative in revealing the dynamics of Romanization. Each provincial territory had its own physical environment, its own indigenous culture, and its own history of relations with Rome, all of which affected and modified the Romanization process. It is only through studying the provinces, and the diverse peoples and cultures they embraced, that we can understand the workings of the Roman empire. At the same time, as Blagg and Millett (1990: 43) have pointed out, 'a Roman province may be too large as a suitable area for analysis'. Such is surely the case with Hispania Citerior (also known as Tarraconensis), the largest of Rome's European provinces, which stretched from the Mediterranean shore of eastern Spain to the Atlantic coastline of Cantabria and Galicia. Central Spain, the geographic heartland of Citerior (Figure 1.1), differed from the coastal regions not only in its elevated inland position but in its ethnic, linguistic and cultural background. Indeed even within this region, the homeland of six indigenous peoples (the Celtiberi, Arevaci, Pelendones, Turmogi, Vaccaei and Carpetani), we encounter a wealth of cultural diversity. Given its insular location and peculiar cultural traditions, Central Spain provides a remarkable laboratory for the study of cultural change in the Roman period.



Figure 1.1 Location of Central Spain, in relation to Roman provinces and modern regions.

Compared with the surrounding areas, Central Spain has been largely neglected except by local scholars, whose writings rarely treat the region as a whole and are practically unknown outside of Spain. Books dealing with Celts or the European Iron Age tend to concentrate on north-west Europe and to ignore Central Spain. Roman specialists living outside of Spain seem particularly uninformed about this region. For instance, Cabeza del Griego (CU) is identified by one modern writer as ancient *Ercavica* (Dyson 1985: 195), while another decries its 'lack of substantial buildings' (Fear 1996: 261); yet the site has been securely identified as *Segobriga* for more than a century, and boasts a well-preserved theatre (still in use today), amphitheatre and baths. Years of excavation throughout this region have turned up enormous quantities of archaeological sites and artifacts, yet these are of little use unless we can apply them to a specific problem.

The essential research problem of this study is how, why and to what extent the peoples of Central Spain were integrated into the Roman empire. This question will be approached from a variety of angles, including the social, economic, religious and material experiences of the inhabitants as they adjusted to change, the mechanisms by which they adopted new structures and values, and the power relations between Rome and the provincials. An attempt will also be made to indicate the peculiar features of Central Spain that made its Romanization distinctive. The period under consideration runs from the second century BC to the mid-third century AD. While Central Spain was certainly Roman during the Late Empire, and the process of acculturation with Roman society continued, the formative period of Romanization was the Late Republic and Early Empire. As is well known, the world of Late Antiquity bears little resemblance to its predecessors, and has its own peculiar problems of source material. In Central Spain, the late period is represented almost solely by villas and cemeteries, which hardly provide an adequate basis for documenting cultural change. The history of Central Spain in the Late Empire certainly merits treatment, but in a separate study.

It may be asked why I have not included the middle Ebro valley, especially the district around *Contrebia Belaisca* (Botorrita, Z) which has yielded important inscriptions in the Celtiberian language. My study area, however, has been selected for its geographic unity and its relative isolation from the Mediterranean world. Naturally Central Spain had contacts and cultural ties with neighbouring regions such as the Ebro valley (which has easy access to the Mediterranean) and Lusitania (site of the Celtiberian mint of *tamusia*), but there are practical limits to how much can be covered in one volume. The Romanization of Lusitania and of the Ebro valley deserve studies of their own. All the same, Central Spain did not exist in a vacuum. It was part of Roman Spain and, in turn, of the Roman empire. Though my main interest has been to show how the residents of this region adopted or adapted Roman structures and lifestyles, I have, where it seemed helpful, indicated how Central Spain differed from the more (though not completely) Romanized

cultures of southern and eastern Spain. Nevertheless, space does not permit a comprehensive interregional analysis of the Iberian Peninsula.

An austere land

Endless, and just like the mirror of the sea, stretch the plains of the Castilian plateau. It is a poor land. The meagre soil, mixed with stones, produces only sparse grain, and the scarcity of water inhibits any other cultivation. Only seldom will the eye delight at green foliage on the edges of a spring or stream; even less often at a small stand of pines or cork-oaks. Sparse also are the human settlements: small villages built from the mud of the soil, and scarcely discernible from a distance . . .

(Schulten 1927a: 5)

Renowned thinkers from Montesquieu to Braudel have preached environmental determinism, the theory that people's behaviour is affected by regional environment (Peet 1985). This theory has since been challenged in favour of a notion that human culture shapes the landscape, and that environmental resources offer many possible options for human adaptation (Sauer 1963: 343; Horden and Purcell 2000: 410–11). The new perspective rightly privileges human agency and initiative over the impersonal effects of nature. Yet it needs to be remembered that environment not only offers but may also limit choices of adaptation strategy. Such limitations are less apparent today, when technology enables people to live productively in Antarctica, the desert or outer space, than in ancient times, when society had fewer mechanisms for adapting to the terrain, climate, soils, minerals, flora and fauna of their surroundings. Pre-industrial reality is perhaps best summed up by the Mohawk proverb: 'The people do not make the land; it is the land that makes the people'.

The impact of the geographical matrix is particularly vivid in the Iberian Peninsula, whose highland and lowland regions present extreme differences of landscape, vegetation and weather patterns. While the Mediterranean littoral has always been the richest and most densely settled area of Spain, it is the barren Castilian uplands that form the heartland of the Peninsula. Central Spain consists of an extensive tableland, divided into northern and southern sectors by a mountain range known as the Central Cordillera (the ancient *iuga Carpetana*) running diagonally from north-east to south-west (Figure 1.2). On the north and east, two long mountain ranges (the Cantabrian and Iberian Cordilleras, the former being an extension of the Pyrenees) effectively isolate our region from the damp Cantabrian coast and the temperate Ebro river valley. Because the plateau of Central Spain slopes more gently towards the west and south, the regional limits on these sides are less easily defined. On the west, however, the Romans established terri-

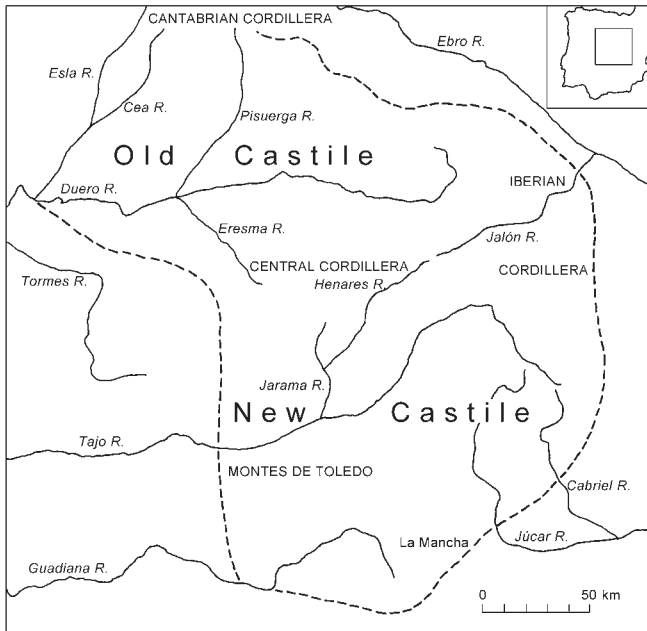


Figure 1.2 Physical map of Central Spain. The broken line delineates the area of study.

torial boundaries which, coinciding with pre-Roman ethnic divisions, provide convenient demarcations for the period under study (Figure 2.2). The eastern border of the Roman subprovince of *Asturia et Callaecia*, which at the height of the Empire had its own procurator and its own juridical legate, divided the Astures from the Vaccaei. Further south, the provincial border between Lusitania and Hispania Citerior separated the Vettones from the Carpetani. On the extreme south, the valley of the river Guadiana (ancient *Anas*) marks the approximate boundary between the Carpetani and Oretani. In terms of modern provinces, the area of our investigation would include all of Guadalajara, Madrid, Segovia, Soria and Valladolid; the southern part of Burgos and Palencia; the western part of Cuenca, Teruel and Zaragoza; the eastern part of Toledo and Zamora; the north-eastern part of Ciudad Real; and the southernmost tip of La Rioja (Figure 1.3). The total size of this study area is approximately 100,000 square kilometres.

This extensive plateau is often called the Meseta ('great table'), a term coined by Alexander von Humboldt in 1799. Its surface consists largely of Tertiary deposits superimposed on a folded Hercynian base. The northern submeseta (Old Castile) averages 800 metres in altitude, the southern (New Castile) 600 metres. Each submeseta is drained by a major east–west river which begins in the Iberian Cordillera, the Duero (ancient *Durius*) in the

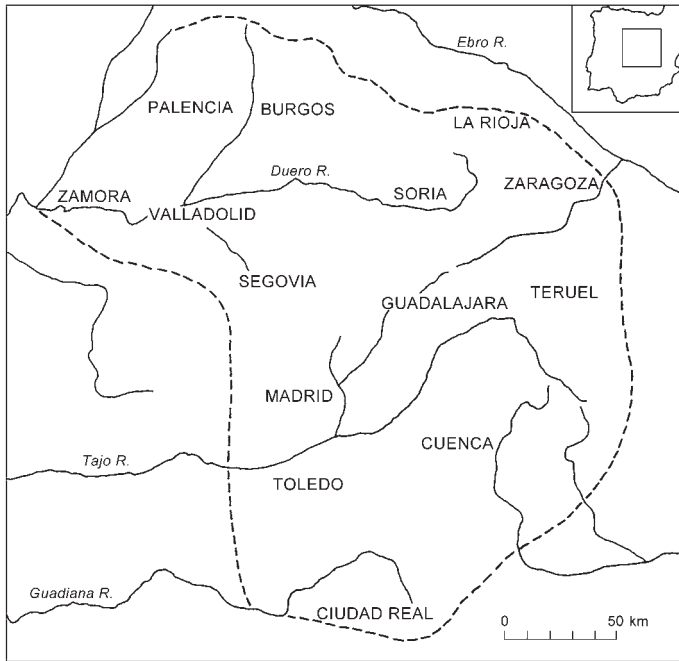


Figure 1.3 Map of modern provinces in the area of study.

north, and the Tajo (*Tagus*) in the south; both are navigable only by small river boats. Their numerous tributaries, often seasonal in flow, were aptly compared by the playwright Tirso de Molina with the colleges of Alcalá and Salamanca, since they have courses only in winter (Vázquez Fernández 1996: 349). The Central Cordillera divides the Duero and Tajo basins, while a lesser range, the harsh but fertile Montes de Toledo, forms the watershed between the Tajo and Guadiana. The terrain of the Meseta comprises two levels: the concave alluvial plains (*campiñas*) and, towering above them, the limestone-capped *páramos* (elevated plateaus) whose sides have been eroded by the action of wind into *cuevas*, steep slopes of marl. Much of the western Meseta is covered by dry, siallitic soils, which in some places take the form of sand, such as in the pine forests of north-western Segovia and at the base of the granitic Central Cordillera. The eastern Meseta consists predominantly of calcareous soils, which in one zone (comprising south-eastern Madrid, Guadalajara and Cuenca provinces) are mixed with gypsum. Also calcareous are the heavy yellow soils of the Tierra de Campos (central Duero), admirably suited to cereal culture. Areas of saline soil can be found in parts of the Duero basin and in the upper reaches of the Guadiana and Tajo (E.H. Villar 1937: 115, 197–8, 362).

The continental climate of Central Spain is marked by extremes of temperature as well as dryness produced by the mountains that block rain-bearing clouds from both Mediterranean and Atlantic. The long, cold winter and brief, hot summer are neatly captured in two Castilian proverbs. One of these describes the region's climate as 'nine months of winter and three of hell'; the other quips that the cities of Castile have only two *estaciones* (seasons, stations): winter, and the train. In the northern Meseta temperatures can reach as high as 42°C in summer and as low as -9° in winter. The cold - fifty days of frost annually at Palencia, and over ninety at Soria - is intensified by the winds howling out of the mountains. Average annual rainfall ranges from 356 millimetres at Zamora to over 1000 in the mountains (García Fernández 1986: 199-230). In the southern Meseta, extreme temperatures of 44° and -23° are recorded. In Roman times the cold winters of the Tajo valley were said to numb the bodies of bears roused from their caves (Claudian, *Cons. Stil.* 3.309-13). But in summer, a sirocco from the Sahara Desert may blow hot, dry air, and sometimes African sand, into Central Spain. In terms of precipitation, a 'dry band' stretching south-east from Toledo into the barrens of La Mancha (an Arabic name meaning 'waterless') receives less than 400 millimetres annually, whereas northern Guadalajara and eastern Cuenca can receive in excess of 700. The climate affects not only nature - perennial farm crops will not grow in the northern Meseta - but also human activity. In winter, the ancient Celtiberians wore a thick cloak (*sagum*) to protect against the cold, which in 153-152 BC was so severe that many Roman soldiers froze to death in their camp. Heavy spring rains in 181 BC prevented the Celtiberians from relieving the Roman siege of *Contrebia* (Livy, 40.33.2). In 134 BC the army of Scipio Aemilianus had to march at night because of the extreme heat, and some of its horses and mules died of thirst (Appian, *Iberica* 47, 88).

Central Spain has its own repertoire of flora and fauna. In antiquity much of the region, including areas now occupied by pine forest, was covered with stands of evergreen oak (*Quercus ilex*). However, it would be a mistake to think of the Meseta as a vast primeval forest like ancient Gaul: the parched climate and the Celtiberians' preference for constructing buildings of stone and mud-brick rather than timber tell against such a condition. More likely there were dense patches of forest separated by open plains; Appian, describing the campaign of Lucullus in 151 BC, records a large expanse of wilderness between *Cauca* and *Intercatia* (Appian, *Iberica* 53). The extent to which these woods were depopulated in antiquity is uncertain: some trees must have been cleared for agriculture or for use as fuel, furniture or house beams. Denudation of forest would lead to soil erosion, and the ground surface would become hotter in summer and colder in winter without a forest canopy to shield it from sun and wind (Cronon 1983: 122). Though grain was grown here in pre-Roman times, grapes and olives were unknown until introduced by the Romans. Even today in the northern Meseta, cereals

account for only 16 per cent of the land use, grapes and olives less than 1 per cent (Carbajo Vasco 1987: 167); this agricultural profile differs markedly from the Mediterranean model dominated by the triad of grain–grape–olive. This rugged land also supported a variety of wildlife. For the classical period we know both from literary sources and bone evidence that there were wild bears, boar, deer, wolves, foxes, hares, rabbits, beavers, mice, pigeons, part-ridges and pelicans, and such domesticated species as cattle, oxen, sheep, goats, pigs, horses, asses, mules, chickens, dogs, cats and even camels. Eagles with huge wingspans still impress visitors to lofty sites such as *Termes* today. River-fish include trout, barbel, surmullet and carp, as well as eel, crayfish and river molluscs.

But beneath the landscape that is visible today, there is a historical, cultural landscape that reflects human interaction with nature in past times. Archaeological information on settlements (chapter 4) and land use (chapter 5) complements literary and epigraphic testimony on social life (chapter 6) that helps us piece together what conditions were like in earlier times.

The idea of Romanization

‘Romanization’ is a descriptive rather than a definitional or explanatory term. It is a convenient name for a construct or paradigm devised by modern scholars to describe the process of cultural transformation by which indigenous peoples were integrated into the Roman empire. In recent years, however, both the concept of Romanization and the word itself have come under fire, because of its long-standing associations with an obsolete colonial and Romanocentric view of cultural change. Yet ‘old concepts can be redefined to serve radically different agendas: stripped of their “baggage”, they can take on a new lease on life . . . and still prove very useful to our debate’ (Keay and Terrenato 2001: ix). Thus, rather than abandoning the term ‘Romanization’, it is preferable to deconstruct and revitalize it as a useful descriptor of an important cultural process in the Roman world. In any event, the continuing popularity of the term, as exemplified by a recent spate of books with ‘Romanization’ in their titles (MacMullen 2000; Fentress 2000; Keay and Terrenato 2001; Arasa i Gil 2001; Pollini 2002), shows that it is not about to disappear. And as the latest assessment avers, students of Romanization are not flogging a dead horse: ‘The horse still breathes . . . and [is] well worth another crack of the whip’ (Merryweather and Prag 2002: 8, 10).

As a construct, ‘Romanization’ contains ambiguous or fallacious assumptions that until recently have not been examined. We therefore need to deconstruct it by exposing problems with the concept of Romanization and devising modifications to that concept to eliminate its inaccurate connotations. We then need to find a model of Romanization that will faithfully describe its operation. In what follows I shall first discuss the problems, and then examine the validity of several models that have been proposed.

One problem is the meaning of 'Roman'. Early investigators naively understood this to mean the culture of Rome, but such an assumption is vulnerable on two counts. First, 'Roman' culture was not homogeneous, but multifaceted and unstable (Barrett 1997: 51). It underwent dramatic changes in the Late Republic and Early Empire, even as provincials were attempting to adjust to it. Moreover, no culture exists in isolation from others (Schortman and Urban 1998: 109); many facets of 'Roman' culture were in fact borrowed from Greek or other cultures. It is therefore unsound to reify 'Roman culture' as a fixed, recognizable entity. Indeed, some would argue that Rome had no real cultural identity until the 'cultural revolution' crafted by Augustan ideology around the turn of the millennium (Keay 1995: 323; Grahame 1998: 175; Woolf 2001). Second, evidence of Romanization is often adduced from finds of 'Roman' materials such as pottery or glass, whereas many of these objects were not made in Rome or even Italy but in the provinces (Freeman 1993). For instance, the Campanian ware found in Republican Spain, which is often cited as proof of Italian imports, was largely manufactured in Catalunya (Morel 1981). In what sense can such cultural artifacts be considered 'Roman'? Or why should we characterize a temple on a provincial site as 'Roman', when it was built by members of the indigenous elite? It is similarly misleading to speak about Roman trade goods or social customs being spread by 'Roman' soldiers, merchants and administrators, when in many cases these persons came not from Rome but from other parts of the empire (Wells 1999: 127). The solution must be to recognize that Rome had no enduring or local culture, and that by 'Roman' we are referring to a series of continuously evolving traits that are found, with local variations, throughout the Mediterranean during the period we are considering. Thus when Central Spain (or Britain, or Dacia) becomes 'Romanized', it is adopting material and behavioural forms that were already current in, and disseminated by human agents from, less remote regions of the empire.

Another problem is the simplistic opposition made in the modern literature between 'Roman' and 'native'. Describing Romanization as 'a dialectical process, determined on the one hand by Roman imperialist policy . . . and on the other by native responses to Roman structures' (Millett *et al.* 1995: 2–3) creates a false picture of opposing and clearly defined forces. Moreover, if 'Roman' is an imprecise construct, the meaning of 'native' is even harder to pin down. While we may be able to form a partial picture of 'native' culture in the pre-Roman period from archaeological remains, we cannot define what constitutes 'native' during the period of Romanization, because the 'native' culture had already begun acclimatizing to the culture of the conqueror, often before the conquest was complete. Thus both 'Roman' and 'native' are constantly shifting concepts, and it is meaningless to portray them as opposite poles when those poles attracted and merged with one another. We therefore have 'a complex series of cultural relationships in which the

distinction between Roman and native became blurred' (Keay 2001: 131). Assumptions made on the basis of a supposed dichotomy of Roman and native can obscure our perception of the multivariate acculturation process (Meadows 1999: 116; Downs 2000: 209). However, this problem is easier to state than to rectify. Since the autochthonous inhabitants were already beginning to become Romanized soon after the initial contact, nothing thereafter is completely 'native' (or 'indigenous' as I prefer to call it, to avoid the pejorative colonialist connotations sometimes associated with 'natives'). On the other hand, in discussing Romanization it is frequently necessary to have a term that can distinguish un-Romanized (or not substantially Romanized) persons, materials or customs from 'Roman' or Romanized ones. Therefore, just as those who complain about the ambiguities of the word 'Roman' use it anyway, so it is difficult to avoid using 'native' or 'indigenous' when referring to Rome's provincial subjects. In particular, I frequently use 'indigenous' to refer to traditions that date back to the pre-Roman period, or to persons of Celtiberian ancestry (such as the 'indigenous elite'). However, like 'Roman', I use 'indigenous' with the understanding that the culture of Central Spain was constantly changing and becoming assimilated to that of the conqueror.

A further problem with Romanization is its 'Romanocentric' outlook. By naming only one party in the process, the word 'Romanization' implies a unilateral downloading of a pre-packaged culture rather than a process of mutual adaptation in a wide variety of manners (J. Webster 1996: 11). It further presupposes the imposition of a superior Roman culture upon an inferior native one (Keay 2001: 120). This supposition, which finds its roots in nineteenth-century imperialist attitudes towards 'inferior' colonial peoples, violates the modern principle that all cultures have equal validity (Woolf 1998: 5). The Celtiberians who resisted the Romans in several bloody wars clearly felt that their own culture was preferable to Rome's, but their voice is lost in the Romanocentric discourse of our sources. What the Romans thought of as the benefits of Roman rule, the indigenes may have considered a curse. Romanization was not an admission that Roman culture was superior, but a conscious choice by individual provincials to borrow and adapt Roman traits for personal reasons, which might include social advantage or emulation of their neighbours (Grahame 1998: 176). Scholars are also guilty of pro-Roman bias when they refer to Romanization as 'progress' or 'development', value-laden colonialist terms which imply that the indigenes were regressive and underdeveloped (Shanin 1997), or when they speak of 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' provinces, as if wholesale acceptance of the Roman 'package' was the only valid response (Alcock 1997: 104). The Romanocentric viewpoint inherent in 'Romanization' also minimizes or negates the reciprocal nature of the process and the impact that provincial cultures had on Rome (Wells 1999: 127). This problem must be countered by insisting that 'Romanization', despite its infelicitous name, be understood

as a process of bilateral adaptation in which both Romans and provincials participated, responding to each other's culture in multifarious ways. The indigenes must be seen, not as objects or recipients of Romanization, but as human actors in particular social situations. Such action requires not only knowledge and ability, but volition (Tarlow 1999: 26): assimilation cannot therefore be imposed, but requires the willing co-operation of the participants. We must also insist on the validity of indigenous cultures and the need to balance 'Romanocentric' and 'indigenocentric' perspectives.

The idea of Romanization as 'cultural' change has also posed a difficulty, because of the ambiguous meaning of 'culture'. Do we mean 'culture' in the popular sense of 'the arts', or in the narrow archaeological sense of 'material culture' (an assemblage of artifacts found on a site)? To counter this problem, it is necessary to define our terms precisely. When we speak of indigenous and Roman 'cultures', we do not understand 'culture' in either of those limited senses, but rather in the anthropological sense of 'a set of traits characterizing a particular people'. Thus F. Beltrán Lloris (1999: 132) tilts at windmills when he criticizes Romanization studies for dealing only with 'cultural' aspects and ignoring 'political' ones such as the extension of Roman citizenship to provincials. Political structure is an essential part of Roman culture, and the acquisition of citizen rights by provincials is therefore an important feature of the cultural change that we call Romanization.

A final problem is that the term 'Romanization' is often assumed to imply a sudden, thorough and absolute process of assimilation. References in the older literature to a 'rapid' or 'total' Romanization of Spain (Griffin 1972: 2; Grosse 1959: 45) are extravagant and unrealistic, for Romanization was a gradual and selective process. More surprising is a recent definition of Romanization as 'a label to describe the intensity and speed with which Roman cultural symbols were adopted by the indigenous peoples' (Keay 1996: 147). An even more recent reference to 'the rapidity of the civilizing process' (Woolf 2000: 129) commits the double error of assuming that Romanization was speedy and the indigenes were uncivilized. The mistaken notion of intense and rapid acculturation perhaps derives from Strabo's (3.2.15) famed characterization of the people of Baetica as completely Romanized and no longer remembering their native tongue. In presenting this *fait accompli*, Strabo fails to mention that the Romanizing process had taken more than two centuries; moreover his testimony is exaggerated, for it is doubtful that indigenous peasants were speaking Latin in the fields. Strabo's statement reflects a Roman colonial attitude that has unfortunately percolated into modern scholarship (Downs 2000: 208–9). Instead of rapid and thorough change, we must view the transition from indigene to provincial as a lengthy process of 'identity transformation' (Le Roux 1995: 17). Similarly suspect is the recent claim of a 'strong trend toward uniformity' among the various provinces (Wells 1999: 192). Instead of homogeneity, the evidence increasingly shows a tremendous diversity in Romanization

between regions, reflecting ‘multiple cultural and ethnic experiences across the empire’ (Woolf 1998: 19; F. Beltrán Lloris 1999: 131; Downs 2000: 198). The trajectory of acculturation in each region will be determined by such factors as its cultural heritage (Inglehart and Baker 2000: 22). It is therefore essential to recognize the gradual pace and variable nature of Romanization. Acculturation is, by nature, differential and selective, with some cultural elements being assimilated more readily than others. The pre-Roman culture was irrevocably modified, but never entirely erased or replaced. Thus provincial Romanization must be seen not as complete and rapid assimilation, but rather as a harmonious blending of Roman and indigenous features which must be studied over time.

In responding to these problems, all of them involving erroneous perceptions of Romanization, we have, in effect, established parameters and rules to make its study a valid and meaningful exercise. We shall next review some commonly-used models of Romanization, noting their merits and shortcomings. These are illustrated schematically in Figure 1.4.

Dominance model

In this model, Rome imposes its culture on conquered peoples. Romanization is thus a ‘top-down’ process initiated by Rome. This conforms to an understanding of assimilation as ‘a process by which one culture is destroyed and another culture is imposed upon a people, usually by force’ (Young and Arrigo 1999: 17). Proponents of this model view Romanization as a ‘forced conversion’ in which the indigenous culture is ‘totally annihilated’ (Mierse 1999: 303). This model reflects some Romans’ view of their mission (‘to add civilization to peace’: Vergil, *Aeneid* 851–2) and of the inferiority of the

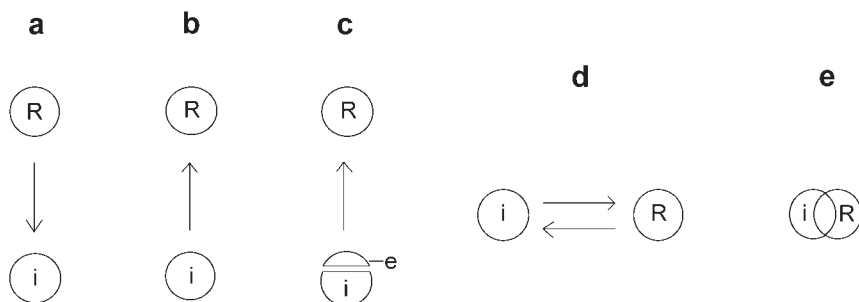


Figure 1.4 Models of Romanization, showing the roles of Roman (R) and indigenous (i) actors. Arrows indicate the direction of initiative. **a** dominance model; **b** self-Romanization model; **c** elite model (e=elite); **d** interaction model; **e** interaction model.

indigenes (Tacitus, *Agricola* 11). However, it uses an outdated colonial perspective and denies any participation on the part of the indigenes, seeing them as passive receptors. While it is true that Rome was a conqueror whose imperialist policy included 'systematic economic exploitation and the imposition of Roman law' (Keay 2001: 122), there is no evidence that Rome had a deliberate policy of imposing its culture on the provinces. Moreover, acculturation must involve the volition of the indigenes, for the state cannot easily eradicate old cultural identities (Giddens 1984: 183).

Self-Romanization model

In this model, whose name was coined by Sherwin White (1973: 222), the indigenes Romanize themselves, in what Wightman (1983: 239) calls 'adoption by imitation'. The initiative for Romanization is 'internally driven rather than externally imposed' (Millett 1990a: 38). The virtue of this 'bottom-up' model is that it recognizes the initiative of the indigenes in the Romanization process. The model's defect is that it makes them appear to acknowledge that their own culture is inferior to that of Rome. As Woolf (1998: 15–17) points out, interpreting cultural change as imitation denies alternative responses by the indigenes; provincial cultures 'are not always the result of subject peoples imitating their new masters'.

Elite model

This model sees the indigenous elite willingly assimilate themselves to Roman culture for their own advantage, setting an example of Romanity for their subordinates to emulate. The classic expression of this view appears in an article by Brunt (1976). More recently, Millett (1990b) has made a strong case for this model and for the 'trickle-down effect' by which the lower classes followed the lead of the elite. A variant of the model, known as the 'thin veneer' concept (Woolf 1998: 247), holds that only the elite were Romanized, while 'nonelites tended instead to reinforce their identities as members of traditional local groups' (Wells 1999: 194). The elite model has the merit of recognizing the importance of elite interaction with Rome. However, it still sees Romanization as a 'bottom-up' process, and denies the bulk of the populace any initiative in Romanization. Millett has been roundly criticized for the inferior role he assigns to the lower classes (Freeman 1993; Downs 2000). The moral of this debate is that we should not privilege the elite at the expense of other levels of society (Alcock 2001; James 2001).

Interaction model

According to this model, not only does exposure to Roman culture affect the indigenes, but exposure to indigenous culture affects the Romans. A

bidirectional process of 'dynamic and multi-faceted interaction between . . . a core and its periphery' results in 'mutual adaptation between conqueror and conquered' (Alcock 1989: 93; Hopkins 1996: 42). This model conforms to an outdated anthropological notion of mutual acculturation: 'In acculturation the cultural groups involved are in an essentially reciprocal relationship. Both give and take' (Lesser 1933: ix). Unlike the first three models, which stress a one-way, vertical relationship, this one has the merit of recognizing the dual participation of both indigenes and Romans in the Romanizing process. The model's drawback is that it regards indigenes and Romans as separate, albeit interactive, entities involved in a two-way interchange. This model has recently been labelled 'obsolete' by Woolf (2001: 174).

Integration model

This model sees Roman and indigenous elements blended together through intensive contact (Metzler *et al.* 1995; Lepelley 1998; Le Roux 1998: 319–73). Instead of remaining as separate entities influencing each other, the two cultures undergo a process of mutual permeation and amalgamation to form a new, 'provincial' culture. Nonetheless, as represented by the Venn diagram (Figure 1.4 e), the model predicts that some elements of both constituent cultures will remain unabsorbed and unintegrated. This model, also known as 'transculturation' (Fear 1996: 274), has three advantages: it recognizes a more intimate and bonded relationship between indigenous and Roman cultures than the other models; it recognizes that the result was a culture that was neither 'indigenous' nor 'Roman' but a new product; and it minimizes the 'Roman-versus-indigene' dialectic by seeing both cultures as constituent parts of a unified whole. This model, unlike the others, has no obvious defects and in my view provides the best analogy for the Romanizing process.

In summary, Romanization was not a deliberate or conscious policy, nor was it an attempt to eradicate the indigenous culture. It was spontaneous rather than planned, gradual rather than rapid, and resulted in integration rather than subjugation of the indigenous culture. Romanization was not a goal to be achieved; it was a phenomenon brought about through the fusion of two cultures.

Sources and methodology

Evidence for the transition from pre-Roman to Romanized culture in Central Spain is scattered and heterogeneous. Archaeological discoveries are constantly adding to our panoply of data for studying cultural change in the region. They shed valuable light on settlement, housing, funerary practices, economy, diet and the equipment of everyday life. Artifacts, the 'nuts and bolts' of

archaeology, actively represent ideas and meanings that were highly significant in ancient society (Hodder 1992: 110–20). Numerous archaeological excavations, of varying scope and quality, have been conducted in our region since the late eighteenth century, and their results are frequently supplemented by casual finds from farmers' fields and modern construction sites. Systematic field surveys permit the recovery of rural settlement patterns without the need to excavate, though objects from the lower strata are typically underrepresented on the surface. Meanwhile, aerial photography is revealing hitherto unknown towns, camps and villas (Olmo Martín 1993; 1995) as well as interior details of cities (Olmo Martín 2001). Pottery, coins and other *instrumenta* not only aid in dating archaeological sites, but also render valuable information on changes in material life and behaviour. Relief sculpture, especially on tombstones, gives a rare visual glimpse of popular dress and activities.

Archaeology also has its limitations. Though often undertaken to investigate historical problems, it tends to produce masses of artifacts rather than clear answers, and archaeological data are notoriously susceptible to conflicting interpretations. The quantity of evidence that can be recovered is limited by the availability of archaeologists, time and funds, though the last has not always been a problem. One investigator, who received a grant of 1500 pesetas (about 3000 American dollars at that time) for an archaeological expedition in the Duero valley in 1915, reports that he spent less than half (Blázquez y Delgado 1916: 12). Some artifacts from early excavations were not saved, or were inadequately recorded, so that materials without secure provenance abound in museums and private collections. Moreover, the archaeological record is incomplete, not only because perishable articles such as papyrus, leather, textiles, wood and wicker do not survive, but because archaeological sites have been shamelessly pillaged and artifacts wantonly destroyed or discarded (Curchin 1995a). Such evidence as does survive is often silent on important matters like provincial administration and social customs. Also, because of their larger and more elaborate houses and tombs, the elite tend to be better represented than the bulk of the population. Archaeological data are thus subjective (Hodder 1992: 89; Tilley 1990: 336), as are the views of the archaeologists who interpret them.

Many archaeologists privilege architecture over small finds (Allison 1999a: 7). Others attempt to give artifacts a modern meaning, which may be very different from their ancient one. Still others, to show that their site is important or unusual, make sensational announcements (about discovery of human sacrifice, for instance) that are not always justified by the evidence. Archaeologists who are predominantly interested in either pre-Roman or Roman remains may give inadequate attention to finds from the other period. To some observers, archaeologists 'seem more interested in doing another dig and writing up last year's finds than in making sense of the last generation's advances' (Hopkins 1978a: 71 n. 79). Critical appraisal must be applied in

reading excavation reports, since enthusiastic local archaeologists are liable to assume that every hypocaust represents a bath house, every sherd scatter a villa, and every tomb a cemetery. The technical vocabulary used in Spanish archaeological reports can also be a barrier to the foreign reader. The nature of the areas excavated is often imbalanced: the civic centres of *Clunia*, *Bilbilis* and *Segobriga* have been excavated, but not much of their domestic quarters, and villa excavations tend to concentrate on the owner's residence rather than the farm buildings.

The written evidence is no less problematic. Roman history has long been dominated by literary sources, which are often accepted literally and uncritically as if they had Biblical authority. These texts have dictated much of the discourse on cultural change. Many ancient historians show more interest in the literary evidence than in the society that produced it (Hopkins 1978b: 186). Even archaeologists often start from the assumption that the written texts provide a factual skeleton which must be fleshed out with archaeological details (Wells 1999: 129). The literary sources for Central Spain (assembled and discussed in Capalvo 1996) are uneven and inadequate. Since Livy's annalistic account breaks off in 167 BC, our principal source for the last two centuries BC is the *Iberica* of the minor historian, Appian of Alexandria. There is no ancient history of Spain in the Imperial age; our chief literary sources for this period are the geographic surveys of Strabo, the elder Pliny, and Ptolemy. Strabo, generous with information on Baetica, knows little about Central Spain, while the other two provide essentially a list of peoples and towns in each district. The Antonine Itinerary of the late third century, a catalogue of road stations and the distances between them, helps confirm the locations of these settlements. Some Meseta towns are marked (though not named) on a recently recovered papyrus map of Spain, dating to the first century BC and attributed to the Greek geographer Artemidorus of Ephesus (Gallazzi and Kramer 1998). Diodorus of Sicily supplements Strabo's ethnographic comments on the Celtiberians, both authors drawing their information from a lost authority, Posidonius of Apamea (Nash 1976). Smaller contributions come from the fragmentary *Histories* of Sallust and the poems of Martial, a native of Central Spain who retired there after years at Rome.

This range of authors appears to give the texts a multivocality; however, the plurality of voices has no authority if what they say is untrue. Most of them neither knew at first hand what they were reporting about Central Spain, nor bothered to verify their data. Their picture of Celtiberia is thus largely a Roman construct, which is difficult to refute in the absence of indigenous literature. The sources often mask a hidden agenda: far from being objective and scientific, they reflect the prejudices of their day. Livy and Strabo, for instance, were writing to please an audience attuned to the Augustan ideology of empire (Ando 2000: 324; Keay 2001: 120). Since history and geography were written from the viewpoint of the conqueror,

and specifically of the Roman elite, the literary sources reveal less about the Celtiberians than about Roman attitudes towards them. They assume that Rome's expansion was legitimate, its wars just, and its culture superior. Appian, writing three centuries after the Celtiberian wars, viewed that struggle through the optics of his own age, harshly criticizing Roman commanders for not behaving like the enlightened governors of the Antonine era (Richardson 2000: 6–7). Moreover the historians, all educated males, give little if any attention to large segments of society, such as women and the lower classes (Tarlow 1999: 4).

But it is the geographers who are most criticized today. Greek and Roman geographers were fond of contrasting their own literate culture with the barbarism and strange customs of foreigners. None of them spent time in an Iron Age village observing the habits of the indigenes, and they seem unaware of the cultural changes that these people were experiencing (Wells 1999: 100–15). Posidonius' account, used by Strabo and Diodorus, derives largely from the observations and impressions of travellers, which were often inaccurate; they seem to have stressed the misery of the country and the savagery of the inhabitants (Le Roux 1995: 8–9). Following the Stoic doctrine that people live in accordance with nature, Strabo populates rough lands with harsh peoples (F.J. Lomas 1996). In book 3 he lumps the Celtiberians, Cantabrians and Galicians together as 'mountaineers', as if products of a similar physical geography are necessarily the same. The portrayal of the Celtiberians in these sources is a stereotype of the barbarian: warlike, wild and uncouth. Their traits are aligned in diametrical opposition to those of the 'civilized' inhabitants of Roman Baetica. This exaggerated contrast may be dismissed as a literary trope, but more serious issues are involved. The negative attitude of Greco-Roman scholars toward foreigners may be characterized as xenophobia, which tends to reflect national pride and a blinkered world view (Hjerm 1998), coupled with ethnocentrism, a feeling that one's own culture is superior to all others (Curchin 1997c). Ironically, the ancient geographers anticipated twentieth-century structuralists like Claude Lévi-Strauss by stressing binary oppositions in the cultures they studied – with the important difference that their data were flawed.

The bias in the literary sources may tempt us to reject them altogether, and to foreground the archaeological evidence. However, far from rectifying the text-driven discourse on Romanization, this would merely exchange one imbalance for another, since (as shown above) the archaeological sources have their own shortcomings. Moreover, not all the information in the texts is coloured by imperialist or ethnocentric bias; there are other facts that have the ring of truth. If we dismiss these texts, 'we are discarding a body of evidence that is as much a cultural product of Roman society as the archaeological evidence' (Laurence 1994: 8). A wiser procedure is to 'read through' the prejudice, to find the kernel of truth behind the exaggeration. 'Biased data need not matter, provided we know the direction of the bias' (Jongman

1988: 56 n. 1). By deconstructing the literary texts and stripping off the stereotypes, we can profitably glean the valid details that remain (Wells 1999: 100).

Another form of written evidence, inscriptions on stone or occasionally bronze, provides more intimate detail about the lives of the inhabitants of Central Spain, or at least those who were the authors or recipients of inscribed memorials. Inscriptions are a valuable source on Romanization and society, though accidents of discovery preclude a representative distribution; for instance, we have over five hundred inscriptions from the excavated sites of *Clunia* and *Segobriga*, yet hardly any from the entire province of Valladolid. A further problem is that some stones were removed to other locations in later times as construction material or 'antiquities', without adequate record of their original provenance. There are over 1,700 Latin inscriptions (some of them fragmentary) from Central Spain, as well as a smaller group of Celtiberian texts of difficult interpretation. Like literary documents, inscriptions can be biased, especially 'official' texts reflecting imperial ideology, such as honorific tributes to the ruler or dedications to his deified ancestors. Inscriptions present other difficulties as well, since we lack a secure knowledge of 'why they were used, the motivations and social assumptions behind them, the interpretation of the forms and language used, and the social signals they were intended to send' (K. Lomas 1995: 109). A final problem is that some inscriptions may be modern forgeries, intended to send a very different kind of signal.

The traditional disciplinary divide between archaeologists and ancient historians usually leads them to privilege either the archaeological or the textual (literary and epigraphic) evidence. Archaeologists typically regard historians as text-bound, while historians distrust the sometimes impenetrable theoretical jargon of the archaeologists. Despite its popular conception as the 'handmaid of history', archaeology should not be subordinated to a text-dominated discourse, nor literary quotations used as mere ornaments in archaeological discussions. To complicate the problem, there is disagreement within the archaeologists' camp as to their mission, some seeing archaeology as 'an historical discipline' (Hodder 1992: 111) while others insist that 'archaeology is archaeology is archaeology' (Clarke 1978: 11). Even the latter group should remember that the ancient texts, with all their bias, are themselves artifacts – products of the past, and reflections of an ideology. More recent scholars have therefore stressed the need to approach the past from both the historical and archaeological perspectives, establishing a fertile dialogue between texts and material remains (Laurence 1994: ix; Keay and Terrenato 2001: xi).

Historians and archaeologists have devised conflicting methodologies for studying cultural change. There could hardly be a greater contrast than between the anecdotal technique of MacMullen (2000) and the post-processual method of Hodder (1992). Ancient historians most often use the

inductive approach, discussing the surviving evidence and drawing conclusions from it, whereas archaeologists normally start with a theory and use the evidence to validate it. The former method is sometimes called the 'common sense analogy': it presumes that once the facts have been presented, the interpretation will be obvious. The difficulty is that ancient peoples often thought differently from us, so the same set of facts might, in their world, have a very different meaning (Wells 1999: 27). Collecting large amounts of data will not, in itself, reveal a solution: 'Facts do not "speak for themselves", they are read in the light of theory' (Gould 1978: 161). Historians therefore need not only an intimate acquaintance with the evidence, but an understanding of the current state of theory. Some practitioners identify strongly with a particular school of theory; others take an eclectic approach by selecting, 'cafeteria style', from the formulations of different theorists. While eclecticism does not produce better theories, it is a sensible and efficient strategy for those seeking help in solving specific research problems (Schiffer 2000: 2–3).

Some historians have tried to conceptualize the relations between Rome and the provinces in terms of either Fernand Braudel's thesis on the unity of the Mediterranean world (Braudel 1972) or Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory (Wallerstein 1975–80). However, Braudel's seductive image of Mediterranean solidarity over the *longue durée* has been shattered by new research which characterizes the Mediterranean world as a disparate assortment of fragmentary micro-regions that are linked but also separated by the sea (Horden and Purcell 2000). The myth of a pan-Mediterranean culture in ancient or later times must therefore be abandoned. Though Wallerstein's work has also been influential, it is not primarily intended to be applied to pre-capitalist societies, but is rather a model for studying relations between modern developed and underdeveloped countries. Wallerstein does cite the example of Rome as an early world empire, and his model can be used to make interesting comparisons between the Roman and other empires (Woolf 1990). But it is less useful in explaining the internal dynamics of Roman imperialism, and Wallerstein's preoccupation with the 'world economy' does little to illuminate problems of social and cultural change or the role of the individual in such change (Schortman and Urban 1998: 106–7).

The traditional debate between structuralism and functionalism in the social sciences has been largely overshadowed, in the archaeological realm, by the current antagonism between processualism and post-processualism. Whereas the structuralists established patterns of binary opposition in the cultures they studied and attempted to explain them with reference to underlying sets of rules ('codes'), processual studies have had close ties to functionalism, the theory that all aspects of society have functions contributing to its survival (Hodder 1992: 104, 111). Processual archaeology seeks to specify relations among such variables as environment, subsistence, social ranking, technology and ideology. Since all the variables are interrelated,

a processual change in one variable will 'relate in a predictable and quantifiable way to changes in other variables, the latter changing in turn relative to changes in the structure of the system as a whole'. Culture in this scheme functions as an 'extrasomatic means of adaptation for the human organism' (Binford 1972: 21–2). The variables and relations in this 'organismic' interpretation are often expressed graphically in the form of boxes, arrows and flow charts. Functional differences within the system are interpreted as 'complexity', which can be divided into 'vertical complexity' (rank differentiation) and 'horizontal complexity' (specialization) (Blanton *et al.* 1981: 21). Processual archaeology has been accused not only of simplistic positivism (Hodder 1992: 85) but of reifying both the variables – which seem to be arbitrarily chosen categories – and the relations (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 52). Processualism also assumes, without ever demonstrating, that its supposed systems have fixed boundaries and functional goals. More importantly, the reductionist nature of the conceptual framework neglects the role of human individuals as social actors, competitors and decision-makers (Thomas 2000: 148). These objections call into question the validity of processual archaeology as an explanatory mechanism for how changes in one aspect of a culture impact upon that culture generally. However, a new wave of processualists is using actor-based approaches in an attempt to relate human action to such variables as environment and economy. One such approach argues that 'individuals rather than social or ecological systems are the agents that cause changes in the properties of social groups' and that we must examine the behavioural strategies used by individuals to acquire and exploit resources (Joyce 1997: 136). This serves as a salubrious reminder that the actions and aspirations of individuals must be considered in any explanation of cultural change. (It may be noted in passing that, while archaeologists readily acknowledge that 'society' and 'culture' are not identical, the terms seem to be used interchangeably in much of the literature.)

Post-processual theory, for its part, concentrates on the explanation of symbols. 'Symbols' refers to objects or situations which are capable, in different contexts, of bearing secondary, indirect meanings that are distinct from their direct, literal sense (Hodder 1982: 11). Culture can thus be seen as a system of cultural symbols. A Roman coin, for instance, is ostensibly a medium of exchange, but can also symbolize power, ideology, imperialism or the governing elite. Interpretation of symbolism can offer 'rich insight into what it would have been like to be part of a former society' (Wason 1994: 117). The drawback to this method is that its advocates go overboard in reducing everything to symbols, to the point where 'anything can be regarded as a symbol of anything else' (Crook 1997). Many artifacts had a role that was more connected with behaviour than with hidden meaning. While a razor, for instance, might be seen by a post-processualist as a symbol of masculinity or even of civilization, it is doubtful whether the ancients saw it as anything more than an instrument for shaving. The more radical post-

processualists believe that we cannot recover what these symbols really meant to peoples in the past (Hodder 1992: 160–1), but this counsel of despair only denies purpose to their work. Although Chapman (1990) has applied a post-processual interpretation to the Bronze Age in Spain, studies of the Iron Age and Roman period still tend to use the positivist, processual method. This is largely because we have a vast corpus of Greek and Latin literature to reveal what various objects and situations meant to the Romans and (if we can believe the sources) to indigenous peoples in the provinces.

Two less famous theories may also be of use in studying cultural change. One is ‘memetics’, taking as its unit of analysis the ‘meme’, which means any cultural trait capable of being transmitted. Each meme comprises a package of information which can be replicated through human communication, either vertically (from parent to child) or horizontally (between peers). Variability in the cultural traits of a society is regarded as a balance between the appearance of new memes through mutation or importation, and the extinction of old memes through ‘drift’, random changes of frequency through time (Lipo and Madsen 2001: 99–101). The implications of memetics for cultural transfers between Romans and indigenes or between successive generations of indigenes have yet to be explored. Another useful theory is ‘convergence’, in which differing elements from two cultures are increasingly assimilated through prolonged contact. Convergence has been applied, for instance, to relations between Roman and local elites (Keay and Terrenato 2001: 3). More interesting is its application to religious and ideological values. There are two opposing schools of thought in this regard, one predicting the decline of traditional values through convergence as a concomitant of cultural change, the other insisting on the persistence of these values despite such change. A recent study of sixty-five modern societies, comprising three-quarters of the world’s population, finds that distinctive values associated with religion and ideology (Communism for instance) have persisted, despite the massive cultural changes that have resulted from economic development (Inglehart and Baker 2000). This study may have implications for the persistence of indigenous cults and moral values in the Roman provinces.

A controversial method, which has been used by some students of cultural change and criticized by others, is quantification. The ancient inhabitants of Central Spain have not left us statistics; however, by quantifying samples of surviving data, we can create our own statistics. Quantification of data has been welcomed as a valuable tool in ancient history (Finley 1985: 29; Woolf 1998: 6). Opponents of quantification point out that our data are incomplete; however, ‘It is a fallacy that incomplete data cannot be used in the explanation of archaeological phenomena’ (Laurence 1994: 6). A more serious objection is that the available data may not provide representative samples. Thus, for instance, a large proportion of our data comes from excavated cities such as *Clunia*, *Segobriga* and *Numantia*, while many other towns remain

unexcavated. Logical assessment will dictate how such data can legitimately be used. We cannot, for instance, use superior numbers of artifacts to show that one city was more important than another. On the other hand, there is no reason why the inscriptions from these three sites should not be included in statistics showing the proportion of Latin to indigenous personal names in Meseta urban contexts, since if we had more data from other cities the proportion would probably not change substantially. Another problem is knowing what to count, and whether the quantification is meaningful. There is little point counting potsherds, since fifty sherds might represent only one pot; but if we had figures on the tonnage of different types of pottery found, they might enhance our understanding of commerce and consumption. The comparative numbers of circular and polygonal town walls cannot support conclusions about the symbolism of shapes, since the choice was normally dictated by the terrain of the site rather than by subjective criteria. However, they might indirectly tell us something about site selection (preference for symmetrical or irregular hills) and the flexibility of construction techniques. Thus, quantification is a useful device if used with caution. Indeed, 'For postprocessual as well as processual approaches, quantification cannot be avoided', but 'it cannot be done badly without undermining everything else' (Cowgill 1993: 553).

A holistic view of Romanization must utilize not only a combination of written and material evidence, but a range of analytical approaches and models. In this study, as will be seen, I have adopted the eclectic method, using a variety of processual and post-processual insights without slavish adherence to either school. In my view, artifacts (which means anything created by humans, including language, settlements and social institutions) are functional as well as symbolic; therefore both processual and post-processual theory have something to contribute to the debate. Extensive use has also been made of quantification to highlight significant aspects of cultural diversity.

THE INDIGENOUS CULTURE

Most studies of Romanization in Spain (and in the western provinces generally) have tended to be 'Romanocentric', that is to say, written from a Roman perspective. This is natural enough, considering that those studying Romanization are either classicists or classical archaeologists, and that the literary sources are all 'Roman' (Latin and Greek authors living in the Roman world). However, since Romanization involves the interaction of indigenous and Roman peoples, it is essential to understand the character of the indigenous culture with which we are dealing. We must therefore begin with an 'indigenocentric' examination of the pre-Roman peoples of Central Spain. First we must recognize that the classical sources are guilty of 'ethnic profiling'. They present a distorted view of the Meseta's inhabitants, portraying them as a racial blend of Celts and Iberians, and characterizing them as savage tribes with barbaric customs. How much truth is there in these assertions? What models can we use to validate or refute the classification of these peoples as 'tribes', a word with pejorative colonialist connotations? What do archaeology and philology tell us about the identity of the inhabitants and the characteristics of their culture?

The Celtiberian problem

The 'Celtiberians' pose serious challenges to historians and archaeologists. The name implies a close relationship between Celts and Iberians, the two major population groups of ancient Spain, but what was its nature? The explanation in classical writers is that the Celtiberians (*Keltiberes* in Greek, *Celtiberi* in Latin) were a racial mixture of Celts and Iberians. Diodorus Siculus (5.33) states that the Iberians and Celts were related by marriage and took a common name. The Spanish poet Martial (4.55) refers to 'we descendants of the Celts and Iberians', while Appian (*Iberica* 2) opines that the Celts crossed the Pyrenees at some time and mingled with the natives. However, since this supposed racial merger would have occurred centuries before the authors who write about it, the literary tradition has no real authority. It seems, indeed, to be a fanciful attempt to explain the etymology

of 'Celtiberians', and has rightly been rejected by most modern scholars. Over a century ago, Holder (1896–1907, vol. 1: col. 959) and Hübner (1899b: col. 1887) realized that 'Celtiberians' must rather mean 'the Celts living in Iberia'. By this time, it was appreciated that many of the personal and geographic names in Central Spain, as recorded in literary and epigraphic sources, belonged to the Celtic language family. Thus we have linguistic confirmation that much of Central Spain was indeed inhabited by Celts. It must be pointed out, however, that ancient writers used the word 'Celts' (*Keltoi*, *Celti*) as an ethnic rather than linguistic term, and apparently believed the Celtic race was limited to continental Europe; none of them refers to the inhabitants of Ireland or Britain as 'Celtic', even though it is precisely in the British Isles that the 'Celtic languages' (a term coined in the eighteenth century) are best known today (Collis 1997). Furthermore, we know from the evidence of physical anthropology that the inhabitants of ancient Celtic-speaking regions were not racially homogeneous, and from archaeology that non-Celtic speakers such as the Germans had a material culture not dissimilar to that of their Celtic-speaking neighbours. Whether 'Celtic' should be seen as a racial, linguistic or cultural descriptor remains a topic of controversy among Celtic scholars, but for the purpose of this study it is a moot question. We know that a Celtic language, which we call Celtiberian, was spoken in Central Spain. Whether its speakers were racially connected with those across the Pyrenees is indeterminable, since their custom of cremating their dead leaves no skulls for craniometric analysis. Their material culture, though showing some influence from coastal Iberia and Gaul, was mostly developed in the Meseta itself, and therefore is of little use in measuring 'Celticity' through comparison with artifacts from central and north-western Europe. The Celtiberian language, moreover, represents a very archaic form of Celtic, suggesting that Celtic-speaking peoples had entered the Iberian Peninsula at some distant date, perhaps as early as the Bronze Age. Physically isolated from developments across the Pyrenees, their culture shows only limited similarities – in art and religious practice, for instance – to what was happening in Gaul or Britain.

Although some ancient writers employ the term 'Celtiberia' loosely to refer to the entire Iberian Peninsula, most restrict it to the Meseta. The ethnographic composition of this region has posed more serious problems. Strabo (3.4.13) divides Celtiberia into four parts, naming only the Arevaci and Lusones; the remaining two, as we know from other sources, were the Belli and Titthi (Polybius, 35.2.3–4; Appian, *Iberica* 44–50). But Strabo later adds (3.4.19) that some scholars divide the land into five parts. It has been proposed (Martín Valls 1995: 186) that the fifth part should be the Vaccaei, whom Appian (*Iberica* 51) identifies as another Celtiberian people. An alternative hypothesis (Capalvo 1996: 61) suggests that 'the land' to which Strabo is referring is the entire Iberian Peninsula, not just Celtiberia. García Quintela (1995) uses a structuralist analogy, arguing that the Celtic

mentality divided territories into five, as is evident from the divisions of Ireland and Galatia, and therefore the Celtiberians would have conceived of their land as having five parts, even if there were really only four. In the end such debate is fruitless: first, because Strabo and his sources had such nebulous and contradictory information about the Spanish interior that his equivocal testimony bears little weight; and second, because we have ample evidence from later writers about the identity of the peoples who inhabited this region. One point is worth noting, however. The 'four parts' of Celtiberia (Arevaci, Lusones, Belli and Titthi) were all Celtic-speaking, as we know from personal and geographic names found in their territories, and would thus fit a literal definition of Celtiberia as the land of Spanish Celts. If the 'fifth part' of Celtiberia refers to the Vaccaeii or to some other people outside the Celtic-speaking zone, then 'Celtiberia' is being used in a strictly geographic sense to mean the Meseta. Thus the question of four or five parts may depend on one's definition of Celtiberia.

The ancients clearly did not have a well-defined notion of either Celtiberia or the Celtiberians. Certainly the inhabitants of the Meseta were not a racial mixture of Celts and Iberians, though intermarriage undoubtedly occurred further east, particularly in the Ebro valley which acted as a corridor of communications between the two peoples. The discovery of important Celtiberian inscriptions on bronze plaques from Botorrita, not far from Zaragoza, suggests the presence of Celtic speakers in what was hitherto regarded as an Iberian zone. Indeed, the material culture (other than the inscriptions) at Botorrita is Iberian, and some of the personal names are Iberian (Burillo 1998: 264). The term 'Celtiberians' is therefore used nowadays to indicate the Celtic-speaking inhabitants of the Meseta and Ebro valley. It must be noted, however, that the second-century AD geographer Ptolemy uses the term in a narrower sense. His Celtiberi (*Keltiberes*) are a people occupying a restricted district in the eastern Meseta, including the former territory of the Belli, Titthi and Lusones as well as part of Cuenca province further south. Since this usage appears only in a single and relatively late source, one may question whether Ptolemy's Celtiberi ever existed except in his own mind (Gómez Fraile 2001: 113). And yet it is clear from archaeological evidence that the Celtiberian culture originated precisely in the territory of the Belli, Titthi and Lusones (Ruiz Zapatero and Lorrio 1999: 27). Moreover, those three peoples disappear from history in the Republican period, presumably subsumed by some other group. In addressing this problem, we must remember that most of our sources are either writing about the situation in the second century BC (Polybius, Livy, Appian) or are using the Republican source Posidonius (Diodorus, Strabo). Only Pliny and Ptolemy portray the situation in the Imperial period. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 3.19) lists the peoples of Hispania Citerior in roughly clockwise order, beginning with the south-east coast, but only gets as far as the Arevaci, thereby omitting the eastern Meseta and Ebro valley. Only Ptolemy provides a

complete ethnographic catalogue, so it is not surprising that he alone documents the Celtiberi. One possible conclusion would be that the Celtiberi, in the narrow sense, did not exist in the second century BC but were a creation of the Roman period, reflecting a merger (whether voluntary or under Roman direction) of the Belli, Titthi and Lusones at some time thereafter, perhaps in the aftermath of the Sertorian war. On this argument, Ptolemy's evidence would not be wrong, but would be right only for the period after this merger. To minimize confusion, I shall henceforth use the anglicized term 'Celtiberians' to refer to the inhabitants of the Spanish interior generally, and the Latin term 'Celtiberi' to refer to the smaller group defined by Ptolemy.

Our understanding of Celtic society is hampered by the prejudice of the sources. The Greco-Roman construct of Celtiberia portrayed it as a typical barbarian land with wild customs, uncouth behaviour, a deity without a name, and so on. These classical stereotypes, often repeated naively and uncritically in the modern literature, have adversely coloured our perception of the Celtiberians. For a more objective assessment we must look to the evidence of archaeology. Since entire books have been devoted to the archaeology of the pre-Roman Meseta, any summary will necessarily simplify the subtle and complex variety of features that comprise Celtiberian culture. The following brief survey provides an essential introduction to the subject, while more detail on particular aspects will emerge in subsequent chapters.

The Iron Age in Central Spain

Iron-working becomes common in central Europe during the Hallstatt C period (700–600 BC), marking the beginning of the First Iron Age (henceforth labelled Iron I). In the same century, iron makes its appearance on the Mediterranean coasts of Spain, though probably introduced by Phoenician and Greek merchants rather than Celts. In the Spanish interior, the widespread use of iron is not evident until the fifth century, casting doubt on the traditional assumption of a Hallstatt invasion (Almagro-Gorbea 1991: 17). The Soto I–II culture (named for its type-site, El Soto de Medinilla, VA) in the middle Duero valley (750–450 BC) has yielded ceramics with painted and incised decoration, which have been associated with the Hallstatt B–C culture. However, the circular mud-brick houses of the El Soto culture are characteristic of southern Spain rather than central Europe, and the supposed Hallstatt pottery may also be of southern inspiration (Almagro-Gorbea 1987: 316–17). In northern Soria province, the 'Castro' culture of the sixth to fifth centuries provides the first evidence of organized territorial control: the Sorian landscape was dominated by lofty hillforts with walls, towers, ditches and *chevaux-de-frise* (stones set in the ground as cavalry obstacles) (F. Romero Carnicero 1991). A parallel development of fortified settlements can be seen further west, in the Cogotas II culture of Ávila province (just outside

our zone) in the same period (Álvarez Sanchís 1993). Also in the sixth to fifth centuries we find the first incineration cemeteries in the eastern Meseta. These are concentrated in the headwaters of the rivers Duero, Tajo and Jalón, a district which is considered the homeland of the Celtiberians (Ruiz Zapatero and Lorrio 1999: 28). Rich panoplies of weapons found in some of the graves suggest the existence of an aristocracy, presumably forming the cavalry against which the hillforts were defended. Trade is evidenced by the presence in the tombs of artifact types (double-spring fibulas, hooked belt buckles, long spearheads and curved knives) imported from southern Spain (Lorrio 1997: 271). While the incineration ritual is consistent with Hallstatt practice, the alignment of the tombs in 'streets' marked by oblong stelae is unparalleled in the Celtic world (Marco Simón 1990: 107–8). Thus, there is no convincing evidence in Spain for a Hallstatt presence, as supposed by early investigators influenced by nineteenth-century invasionist theories.

The Second Iron Age (Iron II, beginning around 450 BC) sees not only a greater use of iron, but several innovations: wheel-turned and painted pottery; circular mills for grinding grain; rectangular houses of mud-brick on stone bases, with pebble floors; and on some sites, straight, paved streets. Settlements continue to be built on hills, but with more extensive and elaborate fortifications. Near the foot of the settlement is a cemetery where the cremated remains of the dead are deposited in urns, often marked by stelae and sometimes aligned in 'streets'. By the second century, a period of intense contacts with the Romans, coinage and writing are borrowed from the Iberians of the Ebro valley, and wine has become fashionable among those who can afford it. The Iron II culture thus coincides with the 'Celtiberians' known (however inaccurately) to the literary sources. The origins of this culture have been much debated. An ancient belief that the Celtiberians came across the Pyrenees from Gaul has led to suppositions of great Celtic invasions in the fourth century. Such views initially seemed supported by finds of La Tène fibulas and swords in Celtiberian cemeteries. In other respects, however, the La Tène culture characteristic of Gaul and Germany does not appear in Spain, and any La Tène artifacts are probably imports or local imitations, perhaps based on samples brought back by Celtiberian mercenaries (Burillo 1998: 175–8). Iron II, then, does not represent a new people but rather technological advances for the existing inhabitants of the Meseta. The beginnings of Celtiberian culture must therefore be sought in the Iron I period (Jimeno and Martínez Naranjo 1999).

The Iron II towns and cemeteries of the eastern Meseta, the Celtiberian heartland, receive the lion's share of attention in the modern literature. Rather less familiar are the lands of the Vaccaeii and Carpetani, which occupy the western part of our study area. The middle Duero valley, territory of the Vaccaeii, is characterized in this period by widely spaced but large settlements, often exceeding five hectares in area. The houses are mostly rectangular, though recent excavations and air photography have revealed the persistence

of circular dwellings of Iron I type (Delibes de Castro *et al.* 1995: 102). Outside the settlements are artisanal areas for production of pottery and metalwares. The cemeteries, consisting of cremation urns and often stelae, are comparable to those of the Celtiberi. The Carpetanian settlements of the southern Meseta are also scattered, but much smaller. Housing is conservative, consisting mostly of post-framed huts, while only a minority of homes adopt the 'new' technique of adobe bricks on a stone base (Figure 2.1). In short, the Iron II habitat in Carpetania conforms more closely to Bronze Age tradition than to contemporary developments in neighbouring regions (Blasco Bosqued and Lucas Pellicer 1999: 247). Hilltop settlements do not appear here until shortly before Romanization. Partly because of the sparse settlement, few Carpetanian cemeteries are known and fewer have been excavated, making typology difficult. Despite gaps in our knowledge, however, an overall pattern is clear. The Celtiberian culture, originating in the eastern Meseta, gradually spread westward, influencing the Vaccaean and



Figure 2.1 Reconstruction of Iron Age housing at *Complutum* (drawing by Sebastián Rascón, Servicio de Arqueología, Ayuntamiento de Alcalá de Henares).

Carpetanian cultures. The long-term result was an increasing uniformity in the material culture of Central Spain (Martín Valls and Esparza Arroyo 1992).

Since hilltop towns and incineration cemeteries characterize both the Iron I and II cultures, most scholars today recognize an 'initial' or 'early' Celtiberian phase in the sixth to fifth centuries, the period of the Castro culture in Soria and the beginning of the incineration cemeteries in the eastern Meseta, and a 'proto-Celtiberian' phase preceding that (Cerdeño Serrano and Pérez de Ynestrosa 1993: 9; Lorrio 1997: 259). While individual researchers disagree on the exact chronology of each phase, the following dates give an approximate idea of current thinking:

800–600 BC	Proto-Celtiberian
600–450 BC	Early Celtiberian
450–200 BC	Full Celtiberian
200–25 BC	Late Celtiberian

The present study will deal only with the last two of these phases, corresponding archaeologically to the Iron II period, or historically to the period immediately preceding and following the Roman conquest in the second century BC. This era will be referred to simply as the 'Iron II' or 'Celtiberian' period, without attempting to distinguish between Full and Late Celtiberian. Such a distinction would have little meaning as either a chronological or typological division, since different scholars place the beginning of Late Celtiberian as early as 300 BC or as late as 150 BC, and there were tremendous cultural changes between those dates (Cerdeño Serrano *et al.* 1999: 264; Arenas Esteban and Tabernero Galán 1999: 528). In any event, Iron Age society was constantly evolving, so any division into phases is an artificial exercise for convenience of reference. If there were 'ruptures' in its evolution (Fernández-Posse 1998: 155), other than the Roman conquest, we cannot accurately date them.

Social complexity in the pre-Roman Meseta

It is customary for scholars to refer to the socio-political units of the pre-Roman Meseta as 'tribes' (e.g. Keay 1988: 38; Richardson 1996: 63). However, this term should be strenuously avoided, for it has derogatory connotations and implies a lower level of social complexity than existed in the Iron Age. The indigenous peoples of the Meseta would not have belonged to 'tribes' but to one of the higher orders of social organization, which anthropologists call 'chiefdoms' and 'states'. Determining which of these categories best fits Iron Age society in Central Spain is problematic and has led to recent controversy. One investigator (García-Gelabert 1992: 667) concludes on the basis of textual and archaeological data that the Celtiberians,

at the time of the Roman conquest in the second century BC, were at the chiefdom stage of social evolution. Another (Burillo 1998: 145, 174) insists that by this same century the towns of Celtiberia were becoming city-states independent of the ethnic groups (*ethne*) to which they belonged. The *ethne*, which were normally dormant but bonded the city-states together in crises such as war, must therefore be seen, according to Burillo, as 'suprastate' polities. In an attempt to resolve this dispute, we shall examine first the theoretical differences between chiefdoms and states, and then the evidence for Central Spain. Although any categorization tends to reify the peoples being studied, the use of chiefdom and state models is a helpful aid to understanding the socio-political organization of the region.

In evolutionary anthropology, following the classification devised by E.R. Service (1971), societies may be categorized according to complexity as bands, tribes, chiefdoms and states. 'Bands' are mobile groups found only in hunter-gatherer societies. 'Tribe' refers to an egalitarian society characterized by pan-tribal sodalities based on such criteria as common descent, age, or cult. A 'chiefdom', by contrast, involves a pyramidal social hierarchy under central direction. Indeed, the salient difference between tribes and chiefdoms is 'the pervasive inequality of persons and groups in the society' (Service 1971: 142, 145; cf. Earle 1987: 288; 1991). Supreme authority resides in the chief, who has the power to co-ordinate and redistribute the group's resources, including goods, services and public labour; there is no government, private property or market economy. Neither are there social, economic or political classes; rather, individuals are ranked according to their degree of kinship to the chief, his relatives thus forming a sort of elite. These persons may have distinctive insignia (dress, ornaments) to indicate their rank. Authority is based neither on force nor on persuasion, but on the perceived legitimacy of the hierarchy (Arendt 1961: 92–3). Another common feature of chiefdoms is specialized production, which often results in a surplus. Economic strategies such as trade and irrigated cultivation are controlled by the chief (A.W. Johnson and Earle 2000: 34). The chief also has a religious role, performing necessary rituals for fertility, purification, or success in battle (Orme 1981: 142); and a military role, as commander in time of war (Earle 1987: 293). Warfare is indeed characteristic of chiefdoms, since it requires centralized management by a chief (Carneiro 1981: 58; 1990: 190). Chiefdoms have geographic borders, but these may be disputed or breached by their neighbours; wars are often the result of competition for territory and resources.

Several chiefdoms can be integrated into a 'complex chiefdom', in which overall control is at the regional rather than local level. In such a configuration, the village chiefs are subordinate to a 'paramount chief' (Redmond 1998: 1). This control structure leads to a hierarchy of communities, since the seat of the paramount chief usually becomes larger and architecturally distinct from those of lesser chiefs. Increasing hierarchization of society often

results in the formation of a small class of nobles drawn from all the constituent chiefdoms (Wright 1984: 42–4). This elite may be archaeologically detectable by the splendour of its homes and tombs, and by a tendency to segregate them from the rest of the community. The chiefs not only owe allegiance to the paramount chief, but pay tribute, consisting of foodstuffs or other commodities; the paramount chief in return provides protection and distributes specialized craft items to the chiefs (Collis 1984: 21). Whereas the simple chiefdom is monocentric, with administration provided by a single 'service centre', the complex chiefdom is polycentric, with several small service centres depending on a single large one. The paramount chief co-ordinates the combined military might of the various chiefdoms, and controls a much larger labour force than a simple chief (Arnold 2000: 20–1). His religious supremacy over the chiefs may be reinforced by claims of supernatural power resulting from divine favour or descent (Wright 1984: 50).

The highest level of social complexity is the 'state'. A state is an independent political entity controlled by a central government, and having numerous communities within its territory (Carneiro 1981: 69). Unlike a chiefdom, it is legally constituted, and legitimizes the use of organized force to control persons and institutions, at the same time banning individual use of force (Service 1971: 165). States emerge in regions of high productivity, whose surplus is often used to build palaces, temples, or monumental civic centres (Kristiansen 1991: 21). Society is highly stratified, with distinct social classes, but often with the possibility of achieving higher status within one's class. Relations between classes may involve some form of dependence, such as a patron-client system. Control of religion, originally in the hands of an autocrat, devolves upon a new priestly class. The large, 'civilized' states – characterized by complex bureaucracies, the rise of cities and empires, and the use of writing – have the same operative mechanism (governance by legal force) as the small, 'primitive' ones (Service 1971: 167). Since 'primitive' and 'civilized' are loaded terms implying subjective value judgements of inferiority and superiority, it is preferable to refer to these two levels of statehood as 'early' and 'advanced', or 'low-order' and 'high-order'; for instance, Bartel (1980–1: 12) refers to the Celts as 'low-order state societies'.

The chiefdom and state models have not lacked controversy. It has been argued that the former, with its centralized hierarchical structure, does not fit all pre-state societies, those of sub-Saharan Africa for instance (McIntosh 1999), though it is possible to explain these as 'chiefly heterarchies' (A.W. Johnson and Earle 2000: 265–6). Evolutionary theory itself has been seen as a product of colonialism (Friedman 1994: 5–7), and few anthropologists today would accept the idea of a universal, unilineal evolution from bands to states. Some scholars have questioned the usefulness of the chiefdom concept; others use the terms 'chiefdom' and 'state' in a purely political sense, without the social and cultural conditions implicit in Service's model (Feinman 1996: 187–9). However, such disagreement 'actually reflects the enduring impor-

tance and vitality of the chiefdom as both a theoretical concept and a subject for empirical research' (Spencer 1998: 105). While the idea of evolutionary 'progress' should be discarded, chiefdoms and states remain useful as descriptive categories. They have recently been applied, for instance, to other parts of the Iberian Peninsula in the pre-Roman period. North-east Spain seems to have been organized into complex chiefdoms, while Andalusia appears to have contained a mixture of chiefdoms and archaic states (Keay 1996: 153; 1998: 81).

Wells (1999: 33, 57) has pointed out a further complication. Archaeological data from late Iron Age cultures in Europe suggest that peoples were organized into small territorial units which had elite and non-elite components but no hierarchy beyond the local community. This in turn suggests that the 'tribes' named by classical writers were not pre-Roman groups, but new defensive coalitions formed in response to the Roman advance. After the conquest, for purposes of control and tribute collection, the Romans established geographic boundaries between these groups – boundaries that had never existed before – thereby isolating them from each other and fossilizing large units which had never been intended as permanent. On this interpretation, the 'tribes' named in the sources would be largely a Roman creation. The validity of this claim, at least as it applies to Central Spain, will be challenged at the end of this section.

We must now consider the characteristics of pre-Roman social groupings in Central Spain. Ancient writers refer to any such grouping as a 'people, nation' (Greek *ethnos*, plural *ethne*; Latin *gens*, plural *gentes*), terminology which implies autonomy and a considerable degree of complexity. Field evidence reveals a hierarchy of settlements of different sizes (chapter 4), with the larger ones spaced at intervals and acting as service centres for the small satellites clustered around them. Exotic items found in important towns, such as the sixth-century Punic bronze jar at *Cauca* (Blanco García 1986: 4) and Attic pottery at *Contrebia Carbica* (Gras *et al.* 1984), likewise point to a non-egalitarian settlement system, with prestige goods occurring only at administrative centres. Settlement hierarchies and prestige goods presume the existence of an elite to control them (Wason 1994: 128). So do fortifications: town walls do not get built by non-hierarchical societies, but require an authority figure to mobilize and co-ordinate a large labour force. This hierarchical structure with villages controlled by towns is consonant with the model of the complex chiefdom.

Literary evidence suggests that by the late third century BC, Meseta social organization had reached a sophisticated level. In 221 BC Hannibal defeated the Olcades and captured their most important town, *Althaea*. The next year he attacked the Vaccaeii, seizing *Arbacala*, a large and populous town. He then had to defeat the combined armies (allegedly numbering 100,000 men) of several peoples, led by the Carpetani, the strongest *ethnos* in the district (Polybius, 3.13–14). While we do not know the source of Polybius'

information, his testimony suggests not only that the Meseta had large towns in the third century BC, but that chiefdoms could form military coalitions in time of threat (though in this case, *pace* Wells, it was in response to incursions by Carthage, not Rome). Another major group was the Celtiberians of the eastern Meseta. In 179, a campaign in their territory by Sempronius Gracchus resulted in the surrender of more than a hundred towns (*oppida*) under the command of their *regulus* Thurrus, the most powerful man in Spain (Livy, 40.49.4). Thurrus appears to be a paramount chief; he bears a genuine Celtiberian name, repeated (with the spelling 'Turros') on later inscriptions from Peñalba de Villastar (TE) (*HEp*, 1538–44). In the northern Meseta in 153 BC, the Arevaci had elected leaders and, in concert with their neighbours the Belli and Titthi, fielded 25,000 troops against the Romans (Appian, *Iberica* 45–6).

Despite their size and armed might, these *ethne* lack many of the characteristics of states. So far as we know, they had no legal constitution, and not much of a bureaucracy. Envoys are mentioned on several occasions, but not administrators. Writing was not introduced to the Meseta until the second century BC, already under Roman influence. Another missing element is a priesthood. Unlike the Gauls with their Druids, the Meseta peoples had no known priestly class. Although local elites – called 'elders' (*presbyterois*) or 'nobles' (*eugeneis*) by our sources – are found in individual towns, there is no mention of a state nobility. There were towns, but no monumental civic centres. Trade existed, but was probably in the hands of the nobility; despite possible visits by itinerant merchants, a free market economy was still an alien concept. The Vaccaeï, at least, are said to have had no private property, but to have owned lands in common (Diodorus Siculus, 5.34.3); this, by Service's definition, would make them a chiefdom (Service 1971: 164). *Gentilitates* (suprafamilial kinship designations) form part of indigenous personal names even into the Imperial period. These suggest that kinship was still the basis of social organization, again conforming to the criteria for a chiefdom.

We must conclude that Central Spain was still at the chiefdom level of organization before the arrival of the Romans. Each town in an *ethnos* appears to have been a self-governing polity, yet in time of war the *ethnos* would unite under a common leader. At such moments the *ethnos* would function as a complex chiefdom, but its hegemony was clearly a temporary arrangement for military purposes. To resist incursions by foreign states, a multi-ethnic union might be necessary (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992: 19). This can be seen in the coalition of chiefdoms against Hannibal, and the revolts of the Arevaci, Belli and Titthi against Rome in 153 and 143 BC.

The fusion and fission of chiefdoms are normal features of pre-state societies (Cohen 1978: 2; Dodgshon 1987: 116). The threat of a common enemy may oblige chiefdoms to unite, while changing allegiances or failure in battle may cause a chiefdom's breakdown. Although the Carpetani and Vaccaeï survived more or less intact from the third century BC until the second century AD, the

Belli and Titthi vanish from history after the Celtiberian wars of 153–133. The disappearance of the Olcades, probably because of their devastation by Hannibal, is another case in point. *Numantia*, the chief stronghold of the Arevaci in the second century BC, is a town of the Pelendones by the time of the Roman empire. The Pelendones may be a constituent chiefdom of the Arevaci that eventually broke away, or a neighbouring chiefdom that seized part of the Arevaci's territory or received it from the Romans in a territorial reallocation. Towns in the former territories of the Belli, Titthi and Lusones are assigned by Ptolemy, in the second century AD, to the Celtiberi, suggesting a fusion of the three smaller units at an unknown date.

The division of Central Spain into constituent chiefdoms is important in understanding the dynamics of Romanization (Figure 2.2). That these were real ethnic divisions recognized by the indigenes, and not artificial constructs invented by Rome, is suggested by the self-identification of some Mesetan individuals as *Tormogus* 'of the Turmogi' or *ex gente Vaccaeor(um)* 'from the Vaccaean nation' (CIL VI, 24162; CIL II, 4233). Although the Meseta is a geographic unity, the six major chiefdoms had different cultural traditions and were Romanized to different degrees. Analysis of these differences between chiefdoms allows us to study diversity in cultural adaptation. The chiefdom has been recognized by anthropologists as 'the salient unit for analysis' (A.W. Johnson and Earle 2000: 272). In the chapters to follow, percentages, graphs



Figure 2.2 Map showing boundaries and peoples of Central Spain and neighbouring territories.

and distribution maps will be used to compare the six units of analysis, showing how people in different chiefdoms responded in different ways to the Roman presence. The evidence for comparative analysis dates mostly to the Early Imperial period and is thus contemporary with the known existence of these chiefdoms; the fact that the Celtiberi, Pelendones and Turmogi are not attested as chiefdoms in the Republican period therefore has no bearing on the results.

Names, ethnology, history

Arevaci

The Arevaci first enter history in 153 BC, as participants in the Celtiberian revolt. There are various theories as to their origin: Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 3.27) claims that the Arevaci are named after the river Areva, which Schulten (1955: 349–50) identified with the modern Araviana, a tributary of the upper Duero. If this is correct, -aci represents the Celtiberian denominative ending -ako-, seen in *ekualakos*, *kontebakom*, etc. The alternative derivation is from the Celtic prefix *are-* ‘in front of, next to’ (for instance, Gaulish *Aremorici* ‘those who live near the sea’), which also appears in the Celtiberian town name *Arekorada*. The ending -vaci is probably the same element found in the Gaulish ethnic name Bellovaci, though its meaning is obscure. The spelling ‘Aravaci’, found in inscriptions of the *ala II Aravacorum* and *cohors II Aravacorum* in the eastern provinces, dating to a period when the members of these auxiliary units were no longer Spaniards but local recruits, appears to reflect regional pronunciation. The Arevaci were the most powerful of the four divisions of the Celtiberians (Strabo, 3.4.13), and indeed considered themselves far superior to the Iberians (Diodorus Siculus, 31.42). They were closely connected to the Belli, another of the four divisions, since the inhabitants of the Arevacan city *Numantia* were blood-relatives and allies of the citizens of *Segeda*, a city of the Belli (Florus, 1.34.2; Appian, *Iberica* 45). The ‘Celtiberian-ness’ of the Arevaci may be indicated by similarities of material goods and construction techniques, though their script and funerary practices are somewhat different (Fernández Castro 1995: 351). Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 3.27) ascribes to the Arevaci six cities (*Segontia*, *Uxama*, *Segovia*, *Nova Augusta*, *Termes*, *Clunia*), to which Ptolemy (2.6.55) adds four more (*Confluenta*, *Veluca*, *Tucris*, *Numantia*).

Carpetani

The Carpetani, or in Polybius ‘Karpesioi’ (probably the Iberian version of their name), are first recorded as opponents of Hannibal in 220 BC. Their name, perhaps cognate with the modern toponym Carpio found in several provinces of the Spanish interior (Solana Sáinz 1991: 23), comes presumably from the same root as the personal name Carpetus, attested at Lara de los

Infantes (*CIL* II, 2854). Although the sixth-century grammarian Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. 'Alea') calls the Carpetani a Celtic people, their name is non-Celtic, since Spanish Celtic lacks the sound 'p'. However, about 30 per cent of Carpetanian toponyms are Celtic (Curchin 1997a: 277), and the personal nomenclature found in inscriptions includes a mixture of Celtic and non-Celtic names (chapter 9). Moreover, many of the names include the 'Celtiberian' gentilic ending '-cum' or '-qum' (Salinas de Frías 1988: 16). Since the Tajo valley, which forms the Carpetanian heartland, was a likely corridor for Celtiberian expansion during the Iron Age (Tovar 1986: 74; Blasco Bosqued and Alonso Sánchez 1986–7: 159), it seems best to view the Carpetani as an originally non-Celtic people who became Celticized through contact with the Celtiberians. As a buffer chiefdom between the Celtiberians and the Iberian Oretani, they naturally absorbed some elements of both cultures. The Iberian influence, however, is limited: there are scarcely any Iberian cultural manifestations such as writing or stone sculpture (Urbina Martínez 2000: vi). Their territory in the southern Meseta, known as Carpetania, would survive as a province of the Visigothic kingdom. The Visigothic capital, Toledo, seems to have been already the pre-Roman capital of the Carpetani; at any rate, in the campaigns of M. Fulvius Nobilior against the Carpetani in 193–192 BC, *Toletum* functions as a stronghold on whose capture the outcome of the war depends (Livy, 37.7.6, 35.22.7).

Celtiberi

The various meanings and the geographic extent of the 'Celtiberians' have been discussed above. The Celtiberi as a chiefdom, however, occupy a smaller though still extensive territory in the eastern Meseta. Ptolemy (2.6.57), who attributes 18 towns to the Celtiberi, distinguishes them from the Arevaci, Pelendones and Vaccaeii, chiefdoms which Strabo, Pliny and Appian, respectively, included among the Celtiberians. Ptolemy's Celtiberi (*Keltiberes*), whose identifiable towns stretch from Zaragoza province in the north (*Bilbilis*, *Turiaso*, *Arcobriga*) to Cuenca in the south (*Ercavica*, *Segobriga*, *Valeria*), appear to subsume the former territories of the Belli, Titthi and Lusones. Whether the Celtiberi also absorbed the Olcades (who disappear in the third century BC) is unknown. Our only explicit information on their location is Livy's vague statement that the Olcades lived 'beyond (in other words, south of) the Ebro, within the territory rather than the control of the Carthaginians' (Livy, 21.5.3), though it may also be inferred from their alliance with the Carpetani that the two were neighbours. While attempts have been made to locate the Olcades in southern Cuenca or western Ciudad Real province, or even on the east coast (Tovar 1989: 95), certainty is impossible. The Belli (whose name is Celtic, with many parallels in Gaul) seem to have been the most important of the smaller chiefdoms, to judge by the prominence of their chief city, *Segeda*, in issuing the first Meseta coinage and in defying Rome in 154 BC.

Numismatic evidence suggests that *Segeda* may have controlled the neighbouring mints of *Bilbilis* and *Nertobis*, Ptolemy's *Nertobriga* (Burillo 1998: 160); if so, these also should be towns of the Belli. The Titthi, whose name likewise has Celtic parallels (Holder 1896–1907, vol. 2: cols 1858–9), are presumably to be associated with the coin mints *Titum* (genitive plural, 'of the Titi') and *Titiakos* (adjective, 'belonging to the Titi'). The Lusones, who revolted against Rome in 181, have a possibly Celtic name, paralleled by the Gaulish personal name Lousios and the Pannonian town Lusoniana (Holder 1896–1907, vol. 2: col. 351; Tovar 1989: 93). Whereas Appian (*Iberica* 42) locates the Lusones along the Ebro, Strabo (3.4.13) places them near the headwaters of the Tajo. Similarity of names suggests that the territory of the Lusones may have included the site of the modern town Luzón (in eastern Guadalajara near the border of Zaragoza province) and the 'montes de Luzón' mentioned in the twelfth-century *Cantar del Cid*.

Pelendones

The Pelendones are first mentioned in 76 BC (in the corrupt form *Cerindones*) as neighbours of the Arevaci; Livy (fr. 18) describes both groups as *gentes*. Possibly the Romans were told by Q-Celtic-speaking informants that the name was **Kelendones*. *Pelendones* is thus a non-Celtic name of unknown origin. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 3.26) states that the Pelendones have four towns, of which the most famous is *Numantia*. Ptolemy (2.6.53, cf. 2.6.55) lists only three (*Visontium*, *Augustobriga*, *Savia*), assigning *Numantia* to the Arevaci. It seems logical to equate Ptolemy's list with the three towns left unnamed by Pliny. Why these authors differ on the ascription of *Numantia* is unclear – the importance of the Arevaci in the Numantine war has been suggested (Gómez Fraile 2001: 102) – but Pliny's geographic listings tend to be the more reliable of the two. Moreover, Appian (*Iberica* 94) makes it clear that the Numantines and the Arevaci were different, though related, peoples. The Livy passage already cited names another town, *Contrebia Leucade*, which appears to lie in this territory, but archaeological evidence shows that it was abandoned before the time of Pliny and Ptolemy, and only reoccupied in the Late Empire. Of all these toponyms, *Augustobriga* is Latin (with a pseudo-Celtic ending), *Contrebia Leucade* is Celtic, while the others appear to be non-Celtic (Curchin 1997a: 266, 278). Non-Latin personal and gentilic names found in Roman inscriptions from this chiefdom are partly Celtic (for instance Eburanco, paralleled by numerous Eburo- names in Gaul) and partly non-Celtic. From these linguistic data, it appears likely that the Pelendones were pre-Celtic speakers whose territory became Celticized at an unknown date. In terms of material culture – fortified settlements and Iron Age artifacts – the Pelendones are scarcely distinguishable from their 'Celtic' neighbours. The Pelendones may have been integrated with the Arevaci, or become their dependants, or been conquered by them (Alonso Fernández

1969: 133; Salinas de Frías 1991: 216–17). After their defeat during the Celtiberian wars, the Arevaci seem to lose their control over the Pelendones, which first emerge as a distinct entity at the time of the Sertorian war. That the Pelendones were ‘liberated’ from the Arevaci by the Romans, in a deliberate policy of ‘divide and conquer’ (Schulten, 1914: 124), cannot be proven; it is equally likely that they asserted their independence from the weakened Arevaci on their own initiative. Appian’s statement (*Iberica* 99) that Scipio divided the territory of *Numantia* among its neighbours could account for a transfer of the town and its territory from the Arevaci to the Pelendones.

Turmogi

The name of the Turmogi is imperfectly preserved in the geographical sources: Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 3.25) calls them the *Turmodigi*, and Ptolemy (2.6.49) the *Mourbogoi*. An inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI, 24162), naming a *Tormogus* born at *Segisamo* (a city attributed to this chiefdom by both Pliny and Ptolemy) supports the form *Turmogi* used by the historians Florus (4.12.47) and Orosius (6.21.3). Although their name has been called non-Indo-European (though it is paralleled by the Lusitanian city *Turmogon*), the Celticity of this people is suggested by the theonyms Boiogena, Epona, Lugoves and Matres found in their territory (chapter 8). Moreover, five of the six known Turmogan towns have Celtic names (Curchin 1997a: 278). The name ‘Turmogi’ itself remains problematic, since there are numerous *Tur*-toponyms in Spain, probably not all from the same root, and not necessarily all Indo-European, let alone Celtic (F. Villar 1995: 199–244). The Turmogi are not mentioned in history until the Cantabrian war of Augustus. This may be an oversight, resulting from their small size and apparent lack of hostility to Rome; we are not obliged to accept Syme’s conjecture that they had hitherto been reckoned among the Vaccae (Syme 1970: 88). Nevertheless, the tendency of chiefdoms to fission makes it possible that the Turmogi had previously been subordinate to the Vaccae, Cantabri or Arevaci. The last of these is the most likely, since the Turmogi show a cultural affinity to the Arevaci (Delibes de Castro *et al.* 1985: 129).

Vaccae

The Vaccae, inhabitants of the middle Duero valley, are first mentioned in 220 BC. Orosius (5.5) describes them as ‘a harmless and submissive nation’, while Cicero (*Pro Plancio* 84) refers to them jocularly as a people at the edge of the known world. Schulten (1948: col. 2034) suggests as cognate the Celtic personal name Vaccio or Vaccius. Other possible onomastic parallels, all spelled with single -c-, include the Gaulish names Vacaca, Vacalis and Vacasatus, the Vacomagi of Caledonia, and the Lusitanian river Vacos (Holder 1896–1907, vol. 3: cols 72–3). In the neighbouring territory of the

Astures, we find the divine names Vacocaburius and Vagodonnaegus, and the feminine name Vacea (Diego Santos 1986: nos. 15, 63, 248). That some scholars classify the Vaccaeï as Celtic (Tovar 1989:102; González-Cobos 1989: 233), and others as non-Celtic (Domínguez Monedero 1988: 29), shows both the limitations of our knowledge and the imprecision of the label 'Celtic'. Linguistic Celticity is suggested by various Vaccaean place-names ending in -briga and -benda. Celtiberian influence is certainly visible in Vaccaean material culture, such as pottery and incineration tombs (Sacristán de Lama 1986: 96; Almagro-Gorbea 1994: 41; Wattenberg García 1978; Domínguez Monedero 1986–7: 474; García Alonso 2000: 32). On the other hand, the presence of personal and place-names in P- (for example Paesica, Palantia) points to a non-Celtic element among this people. The likeliest answer is that the Vaccaeï were a non-Celtic people who were eventually Celticized through close contact with their Celtiberian neighbours. The Vaccaeï had numerous towns by the Roman period – seventeen according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, 3.26), twenty listed in Ptolemy (2.6.49).

Conclusions

An examination of Romanization must begin with an understanding of the pre-Roman population. Classical sources refer to the inhabitants of Central Spain as 'Celtiberians', a term which should be understood to mean the Celtic inhabitants of Iberia rather than a racial mixture of Celts and Iberians. Epigraphy confirms that many of the people in this region spoke a Celtic language and were therefore linguistically 'Celts', whatever their racial affiliation. On 'Celtiberia' as a geographic concept, however, the ancient texts are notoriously imprecise. The Celtiberians were not the barbarians portrayed by the sources, but a dynamic pre-state society with a sophisticated social organization, corresponding to the 'chiefdom' and 'complex chiefdom' levels of the anthropological model. Coinage and writing, features often associated with states, did not appear until the period following the Roman conquest. The coin-issuing Meseta towns were therefore not independent city-states, but part of the Roman state.

The inhabitants of Central Spain in the Iron II period were not La Tène 'invaders', but evolved gradually from the region's Iron I culture. Iron II is marked by technological innovations, including rectangular houses, paved streets and wheel-turned ceramics. Of the six major polities in the region, the Arevaci, Carpetani and Vaccaeï played a prominent role in Republican history. The Celtiberi appear to be a creation of the Roman period, subsuming such earlier chiefdoms as the Belli and Lusones. Pelendones and Turmogi are not mentioned before the first century BC. Possibly they are splinter groups from other chiefdoms, as suggested by *Numantia's* apparent change of attribution from Arevaci to Pelendones.

CONFLICT AND REORGANIZATION

No place better revealed the problems, ambiguities and agonies of the Roman frontier experience than the Iberian peninsula.

(Dyson 1985: 174)

Peace is not the absence of war, but the presence of justice.

(Ursula Franklin)

In the period from 195 to 72 BC, Central Spain was an armed frontier, the scene of some of the grisliest battles and sieges in Roman history. Chiefdoms subdued by the Romans often rebelled and had to be reconquered. At times, it must have seemed dubious that the warlike inhabitants would ever become peaceable Roman citizens. Yet it was in this frontier environment that the relations between indigenes and Romans were worked out, and that the first steps were taken on the road to Romanization. Indeed, the indigenes were influenced by the Romans even while resisting them. The aspirations and strategies of both sides in this period of conflict determined the context for assimilation. Although indigenous initiative was an important factor, the conversion of Central Spain from a war zone to a tranquil provincial hinterland was greatly facilitated by Rome's policy of co-operation. Through treaties and alliances, Rome established friendly relations with indigenous stakeholders, setting the stage for closer commercial and cultural ties. Traditional chiefdom government gave way to new forms of control, including Roman law and administrative boundaries.

Frontier wars

The Roman wars of conquest in the Meseta, which have already been the subject of detailed studies (Schulten 1914; Simon 1962), can be presented only in summary form here. It must be noted that the literary evidence, though abundant, is written entirely from the Roman viewpoint; and the scant

archaeological remains are often seen as merely validating the ancient texts. But an equitable assessment of these wars must also consider the indigenous perspective. For the native inhabitants, defending their homeland against Roman aggression, these were wars of independence. What the Romans glorified as conquest, the indigenes lamented as defeat. Where Roman commanders used a domination strategy, the indigenes adopted a resistance strategy. Those who resisted were considered rebels by the Romans, yet from the indigenous perspective they were freedom fighters. Unfortunately, it is the winners who write history, and our knowledge of the native reaction to Roman invasion and expansion (and sometimes perfidy) comes solely from classical sources. Although there is archaeological evidence for camps, weaponry and 'destruction' layers at indigenous sites, these data have no context without the connected, albeit biased, narrative of the written accounts.

The struggle between Romans and Celtiberians can rightly be regarded as frontier warfare; however, the nature of this frontier needs to be clearly understood. It was not a static, linear frontier such as Rome would later establish on the Rhine and Danube, but a fluid, zonal frontier, an open area of contact and conflict between the two cultures. This latter concept of 'frontier', it must be emphasized, is a modern model for analysing the ancient situation: the Romans did not call the Spanish war zone a 'frontier' (*limes*, the term used for linear frontiers) but *provincia*, a sphere of command entrusted to a senatorial military commander. One reason why a linear boundary did not develop as Rome's armies advanced westward across the Peninsula was that there were no north-south geographical features in their path: the mountains and major rivers ran east-west, channelling movement rather than halting it. Also unlike the Rhine-Danube barrier, the Meseta frontier was not exclusive, intended to keep people out, but inclusive, aimed at incorporating and assimilating the indigenous peoples as they submitted to Roman control. Except for rare, prolonged sieges, the Roman army usually fought in the summer months, retiring in winter either to a rear area (where there were friendly towns in which troops could be billeted) or to a fortified camp not far from the enemy, such as that at Renieblas (SO) during the campaigns against *Numantia* (Curchin 1997c). In the winter of 140-139, the Roman soldiers besieging this stronghold were so afflicted by dysentery and enemy ambushes that they left their camp and spent the rest of the season in the towns (Appian, *Iberica* 78-9).

The conquest proceeded fitfully, largely because the Roman Senate lacked clearly defined policies and goals regarding Spain. In contrast to Caesar's systematic conquest of Gaul some years later, the Senate had no strategy except to react to enemy uprisings; which is to say that they had no strategy at all. While military victories were welcome, the executive decisions were left up to individual governors. Some did nothing; others pursued vigorous campaigns of conquest, and occasionally extermination, of the indigenous population, whether for motives of patriotism, desire for glory or greed for

plunder. Self-enrichment and self-aggrandizement were personal incentives that led to a sporadic and unco-ordinated advance of Roman arms across the Meseta (Keay 1995: 293). A few of the governors were efficient generals; most, however, were mediocre or even incompetent commanders, more talented in politics than in warfare. Moreover, the pace of conquest was impeded by the logistical constraints of supply and communications over a vast and rugged terrain with no paved roads. Conquering the Meseta presented severe hardships to the Romans: a theatre of war far from home; a barren, rocky landscape in which an army could easily get lost or ambushed; scarcity of food and water; extremes of heat and cold; and a hardy, mobile enemy skilled in guerrilla warfare. Central Spain had the potential to be Rome's Vietnam; however, Roman arms triumphed in the end. As one ancient writer remarked, the Romans often lost a battle, but never a war (Lucilius, fr. 613–14). The army eventually learned to deal with the guerrillas, and even adopted the superior Spanish swords (made with iron from *Bilbilis*) and Celtiberian cavalry tactics. And yet it was a victory won at a price, both in terms of casualties (from battle or illness) and the need to provide, feed and pay garrisons to hold the captured territory at war's end. The indigenous chiefdoms also paid a stiff penalty, losing their land, suffering thousands of casualties, and having to pay tribute to Rome.

The pre-Roman Meseta was no stranger to warfare, which was endemic among the indigenous chiefdoms, to judge from the massive fortifications and abundant finds of weapons on indigenous sites. Competition for scarce resources led to incessant raids between chiefdoms, such as those of the Astures and Cantabri against the Vaccae and Turmogi (Orosius, 6.21). These internal struggles were eclipsed by confrontation with the expanding Mediterranean powers: Carthage and Rome. In 221–220 BC, the famous Carthaginian general Hannibal campaigned against the Olcades, Vaccae and Carpetani in the southern Meseta, defeating a coalition of the three in a battle on the Tagus (Polybius, 3.14; Livy, 21.5; cf. Hine 1979; Domínguez Monedero 1986). When the Roman general Scipio (later called Africanus) advanced against *Carthago Nova* in 209, Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal was busy besieging a Carpetanian city, ten days' march inland (Polybius, 10.7). Actual Roman involvement in the Meseta had to wait until the second century BC, when the Mediterranean coasts of Spain had already been organized into two provinces, Hispania Citerior and Ulterior. In 195 BC, Cato the Elder marched up the Ebro valley to Celtiberia in what amounted to a show of force, including an unsuccessful siege of *Segontia* and a reported appearance at *Numantia* (Livy, 34.19; Gellius, 2.13.3; Zonaras, 9.17). Two years later, M. Fulvius Nobilior crushed the Carpetani and their allies (including the Vaccae and Celtiberi) at *Toletum* (Livy, 35.7.8). Q. Fulvius Flaccus campaigned so successfully against the Carpetani and Celtiberi in 181–180 that he was able to inform the Senate that there was no need for grain or money to be sent from Rome (Livy, 40.30–5). His successor Ti. Sempronius Gracchus

completed the job in 179–178, receiving the surrender (*deditio*) of 103 towns and making a peace treaty with the Celtiberi (Livy, 40.47–50; Appian, *Iberica* 42–3; cf. Richardson 1986: 101–17). The Vaccae were subdued at the same time by Gracchus' colleague in Ulterior, L. Postumius Albinus (Livy, 40.47.1, 40.50.6). Except for a brief Celtiberian uprising in 175, swiftly crushed by Ap. Claudius Cento (possibly the founder of the town *Centobriga*), the Gracchan peace would last nearly four decades (Livy, 41.26).

Trouble resurfaced in 154, when the Senate forbade the Celtiberian city of *Segeda* to build a circuit wall, and demanded tribute and troops (Figure 3.1). Because a revolt had broken out in Lusitania the year before, the Romans were understandably suspicious of the Segedans' motives in erecting such a fortification. When the Segedans refused its demands, the Senate sent against them a consular army, under Q. Fulvius Nobilior, in January 153, inaugurating the First Celtiberian war (153–151 BC). A possible Roman army camp of this period has been located in the plain near *Segeda* (Burillo 2001a: 97). Furthermore, a section of the Segedan circuit, discovered by F. Burillo in January 2002 between the modern towns of Mara and Belmonte de Gracián (Z), seems to corroborate the literary testimony: the remains show that the wall had not reached its full height when the work stopped (Anonymous 2002). Abandoning their unfinished wall, the Segedans fled to the Arevaci, who joined them in defeating Nobilior's force (Appian, *Iberica* 44–7). The Arevaci were encouraged by the fact that a Roman army under L. Mummius had just been defeated in southern Spain by the Iberians, whom they considered inferior to themselves (Diodorus Siculus, 31.42). Nobilior's successor,



Figure 3.1 The site of *Segeda* (El Poyo de Mara, Z), whose fortification triggered the First Celtiberian war (courtesy of Dr. Francisco Burillo).

M. Claudius Marcellus, captured *Ocilis* (location uncertain) and *Nertobriga* with the help of siege engines, and made a truce with all the rebels. However, the Senate refused the proposed peace, fearing that if the Arevaci were not punished, they might seek reprisals from chiefdoms that had remained loyal to Rome, and might furthermore, by their example, encourage others to revolt (Polybius, 35.2.7; Appian, *Iberica* 48–9). Nothing but a formal surrender (*deditio*) would be acceptable. Marcellus therefore marched on the stronghold of *Numantia*, where the rebels voluntarily agreed to surrender, providing hostages and paying tribute (Appian, *Iberica* 50; cf. Richardson 1986: 141–3 on *deditio*). It remains unclear whether the first coins minted in Central Spain, those of *Segeda* (bearing the Celtiberian legend *sekaiza*) were intended as ‘confederate’ money to finance the Arevacan revolt, or as payment of the penalty assessed by Marcellus, or whether they date to the period before the war. Marcellus’ successor, L. Licinius Lucullus, arriving to find the war with the Arevaci already over, plundered the land of the neighbouring Vaccaeii, allegedly because they had mistreated the Carpetani, but more probably (as Appian insists) from greed. Lucullus treacherously slaughtered the male population of *Cauca*, though he was never prosecuted for this war crime (Appian, *Iberica* 51, 55).

The labile peace with the Celtiberians was broken again in 144, when the Lusitanian rebel leader Viriathus persuaded the Arevaci to revolt. The consul Q. Caecilius Metellus was given the command against them the next year, subduing all the towns except *Termes* and *Numantia* (Appian, *Iberica* 76). The former capitulated to Q. Pompeius in 141, but *Numantia* held out until 133. This period of conflict from 143 to 133 is known as the Second Celtiberian war, or Numantine war. Treaties made with the Numantines by Pompeius in 139, and by C. Hostilius Mancinus two years later, were repudiated by the Senate, and Mancinus was actually handed over to the enemy for accepting shameful terms (Appian, *Iberica* 79–80, 83; Wikander 1976). His successor, M. Aemilius Lepidus, invaded Vaccaean territory and besieged *Palantia* in the winter of 137–136, but hunger and illness forced his army to retreat (Appian, *Iberica* 82). The failure of successive commanders to capture *Numantia* was by now an embarrassment, and in 134 the command was given to P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, who had destroyed Carthage twelve years earlier. Scipio invested *Numantia* with a ring of seven camps, excavated in the early twentieth century by A. Schulten (Figure 3.2). The camps were built of stone, and the circumvallation had three hundred towers on which catapults could be mounted. A Roman pickaxe found beside the wall reminds us of the labour-intensive effort of constructing these siege works (Schulten 1933: 102–26). Scipio expelled camp followers, forced his 80,000 soldiers to live without luxuries, and maintained tight discipline. After testing the army’s skills against the Vaccaeii, he pressed the siege of *Numantia* until the defenders were starved into suicide or submission in 133; the town itself was razed (Appian, *Iberica* 85–98).

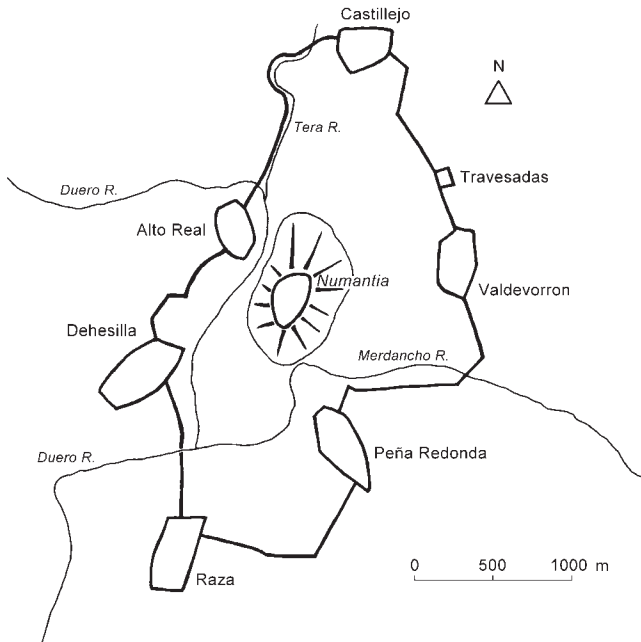


Figure 3.2 The seven Roman camps around *Numantia* (after Schulten 1933).

Nothing further is heard from our region for nearly thirty years, probably reflecting the post-war inertia of a defeated people. In 104, the Cimbri (a Germanic people) crossed the Pyrenees and were repulsed by the Celtiberians (Livy, *Per.* 67; Appian, *Iberica* 99). The consul T. Didius in 98 BC captured *Termes* and other towns which had revolted, and killed or enslaved thousands. A second revolt about five years later was repressed by C. Valerius Flaccus, with similar carnage (Appian, *Iberica* 99–100). A number of coin hoards in the Meseta dating to about the end of the second century may reflect the turmoil of these years (Villaronga 1987). Central Spain was also embroiled in the revolt of the Roman general Sertorius against the government of Sulla. Sertorius himself defeated the Characitani in 77 and captured several Celtiberian towns, among them *Contrebia Leucade* (Livy, fr. 91; Plutarch, *Sertorius* 77). However, Sertorius' generals lost a battle on the Duero at *Segontia Lanka* (wrongly called *Segovia* by Florus) and failed in the siege of *Consabura* (Frontinus, *Stratagemis* 4.5.19; Plutarch, *Sertorius* 21.1; Florus, 2.10.7; important discussion in Konrad 1994). A leaden sling bullet inscribed 'Q. Sertori procos.', found at Taracena (GU), suggests that Sertorius campaigned in the Henares valley; another Sertorian bullet has recently been found at Renieblas near *Numantia* (Abascal 1990; Gómez-Pantoja and Morales, forthcoming). A Roman torsion catapult and other weapons survive

at La Caridad de Caminreal (TE), which was destroyed in this war though unmentioned by history (F. Beltrán Lloris 1999: 141; photograph in Burillo *et al.* 1988: 54). In 76–75 Caecilius Metellus and Pompey the Great captured *Belgeda* and unsuccessfully besieged Sertorius in *Clunia* (Sallust, *Hist.* 2.95; Livy, *Per.* 92; Orosius, 5.23.11). In 74, Pompey and Metellus overran the Vaccaeii, capturing *Cauca* and *Palantia*; Metellus also fought Sertorius at *Bilbilis* and *Segobriga* (Strabo, 3.4.13; Frontinus, *Stratagems* 2.11.2; Appian, *Civil War* 1.112). *Clunia* finally fell to Pompey in 72, together with *Termes* and *Uxama* (Exsuperantius, 8; Florus, 2.10; Orosius, 5.23.14). The Sertorian war seems to have broken the spirit of the Celtiberi, though revolts are recorded among the Vaccaeii and Arevaci in 55 (obliging the Romans to besiege *Clunia* again) and among the Vaccaeii in 29 BC (Dio Cassius, 39.54.1, 51.20.5). The Roman army camp of Las Canteras near Medinaceli (SO), dating to the second half of the first century BC, suggests a continued military presence in the Numantine hinterland (Pastor Eixarch 1996).

The northern Meseta remained a frontier zone until the time of Augustus. Beyond it, to the north and north-west, lay the unconquered lands of the Cantabri, Astures and Callaeci. Only when these had been subdued in the late first century BC did all hope of Hispanic independence come to an end; and it is precisely from this time that Central Spain ceases to be a frontier and becomes a provincial interior.

Frontier relations

The frontier wars were by no means a one-way process of military conquest. In the changing and often insecure situation of the frontier zone, various diplomatic and other strategies were adopted by both Romans and indigenes. Any model of the frontier must take into account not only military operations but the indigenous responses to cross-cultural contacts (Paynter 1985: 170–3; Wells 1999: 95). Frontier relations encompassed a number of experiences and interactions which helped to define the control of political and economic resources as Rome expanded. Indigenous behavioural responses to Roman aggression ranged from armed rebellion to co-operation and appeasement (for instance, the provision of hostages and payment of tribute). An important factor in choosing an appropriate response was the perceived trustworthiness of the Roman commanders. Some gifted administrators, like Sempronius Gracchus (who helped the poor and landless: Appian, *Iberica* 43) and Claudius Marcellus, clearly enjoyed the confidence of the Mesetan chiefdoms. Those who practised perfidy inspired a low trust level among the indigenes. When Lucullus camped outside *Cauca* in 151, the town elders approached him with olive branches and acceded to all his demands, including silver, cavalrymen, and the admission of a Roman garrison. Having thus occupied the town, Lucullus treacherously ordered all the male adults slain. However, the people of *Intercatia* refused his offer of a treaty, because refugees

from *Cauca* had warned them of his bad faith (Appian, *Iberica* 52–3). Didius was another unscrupulous commander who abused native trust. After capturing *Colenda* he offered to divide its lands among the inhabitants of a neighbouring town, and invited them into his camp, where he had them surrounded and massacred (Appian, *Iberica* 100). However, it should be noted that deceit was practised on both sides. Twenty thousand inhabitants of *Complega*, carrying olive branches, came to Sempronius Gracchus pretending to be suppliants, then suddenly attacked him (Appian, *Iberica* 43; cf. Muñiz Coello 1995: 34–5 on *supplicatio*). The same commander was duped by the Vaccaeï, who disguised their strongest warriors as women and thus enticed him to make a rash attack (Frontinus, *Stratagems* 33).

One indigenous response was alliances, either against the Romans or with them. The chiefdoms in our region had been rivals in the pre-Roman period, with no one group supreme, but the incursions of Carthaginians and then Romans into the Meseta obliged them to band together for mutual protection. For instance, the Vaccaeï (and sometimes the Celtiberi) supported the Carpetani in the late third and early second century, while the Arevaci were off-and-on allies of the Belli and Tithi in the 150s and 140s. It was Gracchus who succeeded in negotiating treaties with the Celtiberian chiefdoms, binding them to be friends of Rome (Appian, *Iberica* 43). These included Belli, Titthi, Arevaci and Lusones, but the first three played an ambivalent role in the years to come. The events of 154–151 are particularly confusing because of shifting loyalties and the dialectic between pro-Roman and anti-Roman factions within each chiefdom. *Segeda* was a major city of the Belli, and coerced the smaller towns as well as the Titthi to join in its controversial wall-building. When Rome responded with force, the Arevaci joined the others in revolt. Marcellus made a truce with all three rebelling chiefdoms, who sent him envoys to beg for light terms and a return to the provisions of the Gracchan treaty, but some other members of the Belli and Titthi, who had remained loyal to Rome, opposed this request. Marcellus sent representatives of both factions to Rome, where the loyalists were received as allies, while the rebel ambassadors were treated as enemies (Polybius, 35.2.3; Appian, *Iberica* 44, 48–9). Not surprisingly, the Senate took the side of the allies. In 147 the Belli and Titthi supported Rome against Viriathus; but three years later, the Belli, Titthi and Arevaci joined Viriathus' revolt (Appian, *Iberica* 63, 66). At the town of *Lutia*, opinion was divided between hawks and doves: the young men opted to join the revolt, but the elders (whether through loyalty to Rome or fear of reprisals) betrayed them to Scipio (Appian, *Iberica* 94). At the Arevacan town of *Segovia*, the male inhabitants preferred to let Viriathus kill their wives and children, rather than forsake their alliance with Rome (Frontinus, *Stratagems* 4.5.22). The historian Florus (1.34) praises *Numantia* for its loyalty (*fides*) in protecting its Celtiberian allies (*socii*) against the Romans; but in fact, the *socii* had violated their *fides* with Rome. After losing this war, the Belli and Titthi disappear

from history; it is unknown whether their political structure crumbled on its own, or was dismantled by Rome in punishment for the insurrection. By contrast, the Lusones (the easternmost of these groups) seem to have stayed loyal to Rome from the time of Gracchus onward, and this may explain why they are still mentioned in the Julio-Claudian period (Strabo, 3.4.13).

Celtiberian loyalties wavered again in the revolts of the 90s and in the Sertorian war. One town in particular, *Belgeda*, turned against Rome on both occasions, though it is interesting to note that on the first of these, around 92 BC, local opinion was divided, with the elders hesitating while the people agitated for revolt (Appian, *Iberica* 100; Orosius, 5.23.11). We have much less information on the situation in the southern Meseta. After their conquest in the early second century BC, the Carpetani seem to have been allies of Rome, since there were no further campaigns against them; and when Lucullus arrived at *Cauca*, he claimed to be helping the Carpetani, whom the Vaccaeii had mistreated (Appian, *Iberica* 51). Vaccaean disaffection toward the Carpetani is explicable if the latter had 'sold out' to Rome. Again, when Viriathus overran Carpetania, the Romans sent a relief force to liberate it – unsuccessfully, as it happened (Appian, *Iberica* 64). The southern town of *Segobriga* (which perhaps belonged originally to the Carpetani or Olcades, though it is listed among the Celtiberi in the time of the Empire) also sided with Rome by resisting Viriathus (Frontinus, *Stratagemis* 3.10.6, 3.11.4). Campanian pottery found in Madrid and Toledo provinces is possibly evidence of Roman legionary activity in Carpetanian territory (Blasco Bosqued *et al.* 1982: 53), though civilian trade in this product cannot be discounted. Ties of clientage to leaders like Sertorius, Metellus and Pompey embroiled the indigenous elite and their communities in the Sertorian war. The towns of *Consabura* and *Contrebia Leucade* remained loyal to Rome, or at any rate resisted Sertorius; we do not know whether they housed Roman garrisons.

Clearly the indigenous elite were key players in frontier relations, whether leading revolts or making treaties and alliances. In revolt they channelled the determination of the people to oppose the invader. In treaties they served as mediators between indigenous chiefdoms or towns and the conqueror, while alliances with the Romans offered them the potential for increased power and status. In exchange for their co-operation, a governor could act as patron to indigenous nobles, affording them prestige, practical favours, and possibly Roman citizenship. Although co-operation with Rome subordinated the interests of the indigenous aristocracy to those of the conqueror, it gave them new economic importance, for instance in controlling stockpiles of supplies for the army (Castro López and Gutiérrez Soler 2001: 151–2). From the Roman perspective, it was expedient to deal with these elites, who could command auxiliary troops or collect tribute using the existing socio-administrative infrastructure (Sinopoli 1994: 164). Through dialogue with local elites, then, Rome was able to govern the province indirectly (Keay

1996: 160). Successful negotiation between indigenes and Romans required effective communication, an integrating mechanism that operated on a societal level to facilitate interaction (Sigman 1987: 5). Such communication was complicated by differences in language and institutions between the two cultures, since the technical legal terminology used in Roman treaties and other documents might not mean the same thing in Latin as the nearest equivalent wording in Celtiberian.

In some provincial areas, civilian settlers from Italy interacted with the native population. This was not the case in the Meseta, whose terrain, climate, hostile reputation and shortage of public facilities (such as roads and market-places) were unattractive to settlers. Nor did Rome see fit to establish colonies of military veterans in our region to occupy strategic terrain as it was conquered. In consequence, contacts between indigenes and Romans in the Republican period were made mostly with soldiers (or with the provincial governor, who was their general). While Rome relied on alliances to help hold the Meseta, these were not always dependable. Therefore, military control was essential, both to secure territory already conquered and to confront threats from beyond. Given the fluid nature of the frontier, and the fact that much of the Meseta is wasteland anyway, territorial security did not require holding every inch of ground. However, it was necessary to secure the major towns, since these central places provided the political and administrative control of the surrounding territory, as well as regulating the production and distribution of agricultural goods on which the Roman army depended for food. Food supply was, indeed, a major concern of Roman commanders, particularly when operating in enemy territory. Foragers could usually find grain and venison, but not wine, oil, salt or vinegar. Unfamiliar water and unsalted meat caused dysentery, which affected the siege of *Intercatia* in 151 and *Numantia* in 140 (Appian, *Iberica* 54, 78). In protracted sieges, the food supply of the attackers – not to mention the defenders! – could be totally exhausted; in this case the Roman army either starved, as at *Palantia* in 136, or had to forage far afield, as at *Numantia* in 134 (Appian, *Iberica* 82, 87).

Military control was necessary not only for the security of the army itself, but also for the protection of Rome's allies. In 151, the envoys of the Belli and Titthi demanded from the Senate a continuing Roman military presence, to defend them from their enemies (Polybius, 35.23.9). The means of achieving military control over the Meseta included garrisons, patrols, drafts from the allies, and in the final resort, battle. Garrisons were probably such a common practice that they are rarely mentioned; but the people of *Cauca* saw nothing unusual in admitting a Roman garrison in 151, and garrisons are attested in other parts of Spain. Unfortunately we have no data on relations between garrison commanders and the local populace. Garrisons had a greater influence on Romanization than an army on campaign, since they were in contact with the locals for extended periods (Knapp 1977:

147–9). Indeed, if such garrisons were billeted in private homes, the legionaries themselves must have become acculturated to Spanish domestic life. As one Roman commander in Spain observed, ‘every soldier is deeply influenced by the customs of those regions in which he has served for a long time’ (Caesar, *Civil War* 1.44.2). Auxiliary troops (including the valued Spanish cavalry) were often demanded from allies and capitulating enemies alike. By means of these compulsory drafts, Rome exploited the Meseta’s own manpower to consolidate and expand Roman control.

Commanders exercised strict martial law and sometimes used harsh punishments against recalcitrant groups. Apart from the atrocities of Lucullus and Didius, which even the pro-Roman sources regard as disgraceful, these reprisals could include sacking or razing towns, ravaging their lands, selling the inhabitants into slavery, or cutting off the hands of rebel leaders (Appian, *Iberica* 48, 89, 94, 98–9). Such damages, in addition to heavy battlefield casualties, must have had a devastating impact in the short term, and were usually an effective deterrent against further revolt, at least for several years. The obligation to provide tribute, hostages and troops, as conditions of surrender, must also have been burdensome. However, the greatest punishment that the indigenous chiefdoms suffered in the long run was the loss of their independence. Whether as *socii* (allies) or *dediticii* (enemies who had capitulated), they could not take actions unacceptable to Rome, and their political power waned accordingly. By the time of Pliny and Ptolemy, the chiefdoms of Central Spain seem to be mere territorial divisions rather than active players, though individual towns did maintain a political life on the Roman municipal model. Several of the Meseta cities in Pliny’s list (*Nat. Hist.* 3.3.24–25) are explicitly designated as *stipendiarii*, towns that had to pay tribute to Rome: these included *Arcobriga*, *Complutum*, *Consabura*, *Laminium* and *Segobriga*. Although such tribute has been interpreted as a sign of dependency rather than of integration (Santos Yanguas 1998: 11), these tributary towns enjoyed internal autonomy, with their own territories and laws (Knapp 1977: 106).

Power played an important role in frontier relations. Any study of assimilation that ignores power structures risks creating a false picture of intercultural harmony (Rowe and Schelling 1991: 18). Competition for power was as much a motive as desire for independence in impelling indigenous chiefs to oppose Rome on the battlefield. As the conquest proceeded, there was a gradual transfer of power as Rome seized the upper hand militarily and politically. The indigenous political structure of control by local elites was preserved, but those elites were now allies and, increasingly, dependants of the Roman commanders. The power relationship between Rome and local leaders thus involved an asymmetrical dynamic of dominance and subordination. As repeated success elevated it to a higher place in the cosmos, Rome absorbed much of the power formerly reserved for deities. At the same time, the indigenous elite sought to be identified as members of the

conqueror's society (Friedman 1994: 33). Part of the secret of Rome's effective administration was the non-abuse of power. Power need not be repressive: it can have positive and productive effects (Foucault 1979: 36). By working with local elites, and by accepting them into Roman society through clientage and citizenship, the Romans integrated them into the power hierarchy, achieving control of the cities and their territories through the willing co-operation and loyalty of indigenous leaders.

Frontier relations involved not only socio-political dynamics between conquerors and indigenes, but cultural and commercial interaction. Through contact with Roman soldiers, the indigenes learned something about their language, customs and artifacts. An equally important mechanism of contact was trade. Unlike Britain, which imported substantial quantities of Roman goods before the Roman invasion of AD 43, there is little evidence for Roman trade with the Meseta in advance of the military conquest. Afterwards, however, there were undoubtedly material contacts between the indigenes and civilian merchants. These are readily evident in the case of pottery, whose distribution is widespread, but presumably there was also trade in fabrics and other perishable goods which have left no trace. The commodities of trade will be examined in a later chapter.

One factor which adversely affected relations on the Meseta frontier was the attitudes of the two opposing cultures towards each other. Many of the indigenes clearly resented Roman control and taxation, expressing their discontent through periodic revolts. The warlike Arevaci actually saw the Romans as militarily inferior to themselves (Polybius, 35.2.14). However, the Romans also had a negative attitude toward the Celtiberians, regarding them as barbarous, uncivilized, even sub-human. This prejudice – which is cultural rather than racial – is echoed time and again by Greek and Latin writers, who describe the inhabitants of the Spanish interior as wild (*agrioi*, *feri*), savage (*truces*), beasts (*therioi*) and so on (Strabo, 3.4.13; Appian, *Iberica* 97; Plutarch, *Sertorius* 14; Justin, 44.2.7; Livy, 34.17; Vellius Paterculus, 2.1.4; Valerius Maximus, 3.2 ext. 7; Martial, 19.78). Such criticisms are, of course, demonstrably untrue: the Celtiberians were sufficiently versed in agriculture, metallurgy, urbanism and writing to disprove the classical denigration of their culture, while the fanciful painted figures on their vases show that they were not savages but a very imaginative people (Paris 1914–19: 15). Moreover, in Central Spain as on other frontiers, Roman writers (presumably echoing the official explanation) usually blame the enemy for starting wars, whereas alternative interpretations now seem likelier (Wells 1999: 86). For instance, *Segeda* is faulted for beginning the First Celtiberian war, yet it was Rome that initiated the hostilities. The dehumanizing stereotype of the 'wild' and warlike Celtiberians emphasized the Romans' belief in their own cultural superiority, and rationalized the breaches of faith or antihumanitarian atrocities practised by some commanders. On the other hand, underestimation of the capabilities of the

'inferior' Celtiberian armies led some Roman generals into disastrous ambushes or defeats (Curchin 1997c: 68–70).

Roman policy and organization

Under the Republic, Roman policy on Spain was normally decided, not by the Senate, but by individual commanders on the spot. The military governors were endowed with *imperium*, the power of command, and the Senate was content to let them deal with provincial problems as they occurred. A notable exception to this rule was the twenty-year period from 153 to 133, in which the Senate was so embarrassed by repeated military failures in the Meseta that it played a more pragmatic role. It overturned the pacts made with the enemy by Marcellus in 152 and by Pompeius in 139; it handed Mancinus over to the enemy in 137 for having surrendered; it imposed a fine on Aemilius Lepidus the next year for starting a war with the Vaccaeii, contrary to instructions; and as was customary after major victories, it sent a commission of ten senators in 133 to arrange peace terms with the vanquished peoples (Appian, *Iberica* 49, 79, 83, 99). After this, the governors seem again to have exercised *carte blanche* in their province, as is evident in the military campaigns of the first century BC.

Entrusting provincial decisions to individual and frequently rotated commanders was not conducive to consistent policy, and our sources are quick to condemn those governors who were cowardly, indolent, greedy, indecisive, insubordinate, or acted in bad faith. Social control can be exercised through either persuasive or coercive means (Anderson and Carter 1999: 36); individual Republican commanders employed either or both of these strategies to control the inhabitants of their province. Some of the most successful and popular governors were those who, like Sempronius Gracchus and Claudius Marcellus, used clemency and diplomacy to entice the indigenes to co-operate with Rome. Gracchus' treaty with the Celtiberians required them to furnish auxiliary troops and to pay tribute (Appian, *Iberica* 44), which may have included both bullion – coins were not yet in common use in the Meseta – and a tax-in-kind on grain (Knapp 1977: 169–71; Richardson 1986: 114–17). These obligations served to integrate Celtiberian warriors into the Roman army, while encouraging peaceful, agricultural pursuits (Dyson 1985: 196). They also brought Rome regular revenues, a prominent goal of imperialism (Sinopoli 1994: 165). Gracchus won over not only the indigenous aristocracy, who took oaths of friendship to Rome, but also the peasantry, to whom he gave land or found a place in the towns. According to Appian (*Iberica* 43), Gracchus' foresightful arrangements were often envied during the wars of 154–133 BC, though one suspects that Appian used a source that glorified Gracchus excessively while minimizing the achievements of other commanders. Claudius Marcellus was far more enlightened than his reactionary peers in the Senate, who rejected his plea for

compromise in dealing with the Arevaci in 151; he subsequently persuaded the rebels to surrender unconditionally, then let them all go free (Appian, *Iberica* 49–50). Caecilius Metellus is praised by Roman writers for his *clementia* in pardoning the rebels of *Centobriga* in 143 (Polybius, 35.3; Valerius Maximus, 1.1.5; Florus, 1.23.10, wrongly reading 'Nertobriga').

Coercive control was usually exercised only in case of armed revolt. Rebellious chiefdoms or towns which subsequently surrendered were liable to various punishments, at the discretion of the Roman commander. Such penalties as massacre, plundering and enslavement have already been discussed. Occasionally, as at *Termes* in 98 BC, a town might be forced to move to the plain and live without fortifications (Appian, *Iberica* 99). However, the more usual punishments for revolt were the surrender of arms and the provision of troops, hostages and tribute. Yet disarmament was temporary, and the tribute and troop requirements laid down by Gracchus were later relaxed, though the Senate tried to reimpose them in 154 (Appian, *Iberica* 44). Strabo (3.4.13) records that Marcellus exacted a tribute of 600 talents from the Celtiberians in 151, 'even though they inhabit a rather poor land'. This would be equivalent to 3.6 million Roman denarii. So large a sum was presumably a one-time payment, rather than an annual levy. Large amounts were also taken from the Celtiberians in the form of booty. Fulvius Flaccus, in his triumph *ex Celtiberis* in 180, displayed 124 gold crowns, 31 pounds of gold bullion, and several hundred thousand denarii in silver. Gracchus carried 40,000 pounds of silver in his triumph over the Celtiberians in 178, while Claudius Cento celebrated an ovation *ex Celtiberis* in 174 with 5,000 pounds of gold and 10,000 of silver (Livy, 40.43.5, 41.7.2, 41.28.6; cf. Knapp 1977: 169). Districts occupied by Roman troops were required to provide them with grain; when such provisions were interrupted by revolt, the legionaries harvested the crop themselves (Appian, *Iberica* 78, 87). Even at the height of the Empire, when there were no longer legions in Central Spain, it is likely that the rich grain lands of the Vaccaeii supplied food to the Seventh Legion in neighbouring Asturias, though probably through purchase rather than exaction (Curchin 1991: 93–4).

The nature of Roman relations with the indigenous chiefdoms has been a matter of debate. Some scholars believe that Rome preferred to leave the Celtic political structure intact and to use it as the basis of administration (Haselgrove 1984: 6; Ørsted 1985: 178; Salinas de Frías 1991: 220; Keay 1995: 295). However, Alföldy (1987b: 111) has argued that Rome had little interest in the chiefdom structure and considered it too loose and internally fragmented by conflicts between the constituent communities. A more balanced assessment has been provided by Alcock (1989: 90–2), who states that if the pre-existing political structure was efficient and acceptable to Rome, it was left intact; if not, it was either streamlined or replaced. If we examine the situation in Spain, we find that the indigenous chiefdoms were convenient as *geographical* units, but not as *political* ones. Interprovincial

boundaries seem to respect boundaries between chiefdoms, and Ptolemy is able to arrange his geographical survey on this basis. Politically, however, chiefdoms such as the Arevaci and Lusitani often served as vehicles for revolt, using their internal organization to unite the various communities against Rome. Moreover, while the Romans could use the alliance system to play one chiefdom against another, it not infrequently happened that several chiefdoms would form a temporary confederacy against them. Therefore, the chiefdoms were denied any official role in the governing of the province, and soon lost their political importance. Instead, in keeping with Alcock's model, the chiefdom was replaced as the middleman between Rome and the individual communities by a new organization, the *conventus*.

The *conventus* functioned as a judicial and religious tier in the hierarchy of Roman control. It was part of a dendritic control system, in which each Spanish province was divided into several *conventus*, and each *conventus* was in turn made up of various types of cities (Figure 3.3). The date of its creation is a matter of controversy. It certainly existed by the Flavian period, since Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* 3.25–8) lists the seven *conventus* of the province of Hispania Citerior – known to Ptolemy as Tarraconensis – and the cities belonging to them. (The form *conventus* is both singular and plural.) Some scholars therefore attribute the establishment of the *conventus* system to Vespasian (Tranoy 1981: 152–3; Mangas and Solana Sáinz 1985: 34). However, nothing prevents it being earlier, and others see it as a creation of Augustus, who entrusted Baetica to the Senate while keeping Hispania Citerior and Lusitania under his own control (Knapp 1977: 66 n. 8; Alföldy 1987b: 63–4). An intriguing inscription, mentioning the existence of a *conventus Arae Augustae* in Asturias in AD 1, is of insecure authenticity and

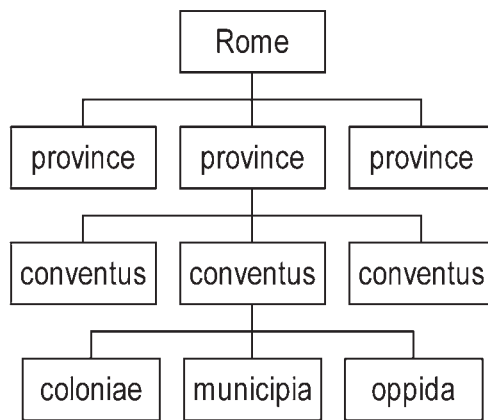


Figure 3.3 Dendritic control system for provincial administration.

cannot resolve this debate (AE 1994, 553; cf. Mela, 3.13). There is, however, some evidence for the existence of *conventus* as juridical districts (in contrast to *conventus civium Romanorum*, which were associations of Roman citizens in provincial cities during the Republic) in the time of Julius Caesar. Suetonius (*Divus Julius* 7.1) records that Caesar, as quaestor of Hispania Ulterior in 68 BC, was sent by the praetor to make the circuit of the various *conventus* to administer justice (*iure dicundo*). One of the cities on his circuit was *Gades*, which is also one of the *conventus* centres in Pliny's list. Some might argue that the Suetonius passage proves only that *conventus* existed in Suetonius' time (second century AD), not Caesar's. However, we have evidence much closer to Caesar's own day: Nicolaus of Damascus, writing in the 20s BC about Caesar's Spanish campaign of 45 BC, informs us that *Carthago Nova* was a city to which people came to have their lawsuits settled (Nicolaus, fr. 127.12). The difficulty in assigning the origin of the *conventus* system to Julius or Augustus is that Strabo's *Geography*, published shortly after Augustus' death, describes a different type of organization. According to Strabo (3.4.20), the governor of Citerior has under him three legates: one, with two legions (which would be *legiones VI Victrix* and *X Gemina*), guards Galicia and Asturias, the so-called *provincia Transduriana*; another, with a single legion (*legio IV Macedonica*), controls Cantabria and the Basque country; the third, without legions, oversees the peoples of the interior, including the Celtiberians and the Ebro valley (cf. Albertini 1923: 44–52; Alföldy 2000). Strabo's tripartite division of the province is incompatible with Pliny's description, and is therefore claimed as support by those who ascribe the *conventus* organization to Vespasian. However, Strabo's further statement that the governor dispenses justice at *Tarraco* and *Carthago Nova* in the winter, and makes a tour of the rest of the province in the summer, does suggest the existence of a circuit court, and hence of assize districts. The likeliest interpretation of Strabo's evidence is that the legates in Galicia and Cantabria were legionary legates (the former commanding two legions), while the third was a *legatus iuridicus*, a deputy with juridical powers, who could hear legal cases in Celtiberia. The presence of a *iuridicus* would allow for regular assizes several times a year, since the governor himself was able to visit the uplands only in the summer. This, apparently, was the arrangement under Augustus. In the period from Tiberius to Hadrian, the *iuridicus* bears the title *legatus Augusti Hispaniae citerioris*, and his jurisdiction is no longer confined to the interior but extends over the entire province (including the east coast and Galicia). The governor and the *iuridicus* may thus have travelled the same circuit at different times of the year. From Antoninus Pius to the Severan period, however, the juridical legate operated solely in *Asturia et Callaecia*, and the governor himself must have dispensed justice in the rest of the province (Alföldy 1969: 237–44). This would not involve excessive travel, since the only *conventus* capital in the Meseta was *Clunia*.

Whatever its origin, the *conventus* system presents some interesting features. Unlike the provincial borders, it did not necessarily respect the old chiefdom boundaries. In particular, the Celtiberi were split among three *conventus* (*Cluniensis*, *Caesaraugustanus* and *Carthaginiensis*), and *Complutum* was assigned to *Caesaraugustanus* while the rest of the Carpetanian cites were in *Carthaginiensis* (Figure 3.4). Nor did it respect the topographic limits of the Meseta. The *conventus Cluniensis* not only included the upper Duero valley, but extended northward to the Bay of Biscay, while the *conventus Carthaginiensis* encompassed both the southern Meseta and the south-east coast. Like some other *conventus* capitals (*Emerita*, *Scallabis*, *Gades*), *Carthago Nova* was located at the edge rather than the centre of its territory, presumably for easier communication with the provincial capital. *Clunia*, by contrast, was centrally located within its *conventus*, on a major highway running from *Asturica Augusta* to *Tarraco*. The boundaries of the three *conventus* are known only approximately. However, a stone inscribed 'ter(minus) Aug(ustalis)' found near Colmenar Viejo (M), which appears to mark the municipal boundary between the Carpetanian towns of *Complutum* and *Mantua*, ought also to coincide with the *conventus* boundary, since *Complutum* is the westernmost town recorded in *Caesaraugustanus* (AE 1990, 580).



Figure 3.4 Hispania Citerior: the seven *conventus*.

Litigation was not the sole function of the *conventus*. Nicolaus, in the passage already cited, records that people went to *Carthago Nova* not only to receive judgment, but to arrange their cities' affairs with the governor, or to claim rewards for bravery in war. Anyone wishing to present a petition to the governor, or to conduct business with his staff, would likewise come to the *conventus* capital when that official was in town. The *conventus* thus served an administrative purpose in addition to its juridical one. Dio Chrysostom (35.15) adds that since assize centres brought together large numbers of people of all classes, they became prosperous market cities, where merchants could sell their goods at the highest price and there was plenty of work for those who provided transportation, accommodation or sexual services to the visitors. Travelling to the *conventus* capital must also have contributed to Romanization by exposing the indigenes to large cities outside the Meseta, such as *Caesaraugusta* and *Carthago Nova*. Apart from these incidental benefits, the *conventus* played an important role in the state religion. Each *conventus* capital was a cult centre for the worship of Rome and the emperor (*Romae et Augusti*), presided over by the *sacerdos* (priest) of the *conventus*. One such *sacerdos*, from the *conventus Cluniensis*, went on to become the *flamen* (high priest) of the provincial cult (CIL II, 6093, cf. Curchin 1996a: 148). Each *conventus* also had its own divine spirit (*genius*) and a council (*concilium*), whose activities were not confined to the Imperial cult but included setting up honorific monuments and making secular gestures of loyalty to the ruler (Albertini 1923: 104; Mackie 1983: 138). These activities even extended beyond Spain: a bronze inscription excavated at Rome, and dating to AD 222, records that the *concilium conventus Cluniensis* elected C. Marius Pudens Cornelianus, a senator and legionary commander (presumably of the *legio VII Gemina*) as their patron, because of his many outstanding services (ILS, 6109).

The chief aims of the Roman government in the provinces were internal security, tax collection and the maintenance of justice. These three goals were achieved, in Republican times, by the legions, the local elite – there is no evidence for Roman *publicani* in tax collection in Spain – and the provincial governor. In the Imperial period, a military presence in the Meseta was no longer required, though a legion remained in neighbouring Asturias; tax collection was supervised by the provincial procurator, a civil servant of equestrian status; and the proconsular governor was assisted in his legal duties by a juridical legate of praetorian rank. These officials (all appointed by the emperor) represent the superstructure of provincial government, the public face of empire. However, the real key to the achievement of Rome's aims was the role played by local elites, the successors of the pre-Roman aristocracy. The Romans allowed the indigenous communities, through their local senate and magistrates, a considerable degree of local autonomy in their internal affairs. This policy of administering the towns through native elites avoided much of the bureaucratic expense incurred by more interventionist

empires; it has been shown, for example, that Rome had only 4.35 per cent as many elite administrators in the provinces as twelfth-century China (Hopkins 1980: 121). By the time of the Empire, cities with municipal status had *duoviri* and *aediles*, annually elected magistrates who dispensed justice in civil lawsuits, leaving criminal cases for the governor's assizes. In our region, *duoviri* make their first appearance on Augustan coins of *Bilbilis* and *Turiaso* (Curchin 1990: 186–7, 229), while the earliest known *aedilis* is recorded at *Segobriga* in AD 12. (*CIL* II, 3103–4). The *decuriones* (municipal councillors) were responsible for the collection of taxes in the town and its territory (Curchin 1990: 60–2). Most importantly, the willing co-operation of these local leaders defused sedition, making a military presence in Central Spain unnecessary. The winning-over of the indigenous elites, and their incorporation into the Roman political hierarchy, was in the long run a greater victory for Rome than any battlefield success. It was, however, a victory that required the willingness of provincials to identify with the Roman system of government.

Local government, while ostensibly autonomous, was still subject to Roman control. We know from bronze documents found in Baetica, namely the *tabula Siarensis* decreeing posthumous honours to Germanicus (*AE* 1984, 508), and the *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* (*AE* 1996, 885), both dating to the reign of Tiberius, that decisions of the Senate and People of Rome could be ordered to be reproduced in provincial cities. No examples of such decrees have yet been found in Central Spain, but coins of *Bilbilis*, on which the name of Sejanus has been erased, appear to comply with the decree of the Senate imposing a *damnatio memoriae* on that unpopular praetorian prefect (Casado López 1976). The Flavian Municipal Law, of which major sections have been found in Baetica (Curchin 1990: 14) and possible fragments in Central Spain (Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 113; Hoyo 1995), was apparently crafted by the central government to ensure uniform administrative procedures in local municipalities.

Although many Roman individuals and companies amassed fortunes from trading in the provinces, the Roman state itself was not interested in commercial exploitation of the provinces, nor in regulating such exploitation by the private sector (Richardson 1986: 176). While Roman expansion into the Meseta did provide new markets for surplus Roman goods, this was an incidental consequence rather than a motivating factor in the conquest. The senators who determined Roman policy in Republican times were forbidden by law from engaging in commerce. Their sole economic aim was to replenish the treasury in both the short term (through booty, sale of captured lands and slaves) and long term (through tribute, taxes, and mining revenues). Even land was not monopolized; while provincial soil legally belonged to Rome, peasants continued to work their holdings, and local elites were able to acquire profitable estates (Finley 1973: 158; Woolf 1993a: 15). No colonies of Roman or Italian soldier-farmers were established in

Central Spain (see chapter 4 on the supposed military colony at *Clunia*). Financial interference in the affairs of the towns was not a normal feature of Roman policy; they continued to mint local coinage and manage their own internal finances.

There was, however, a further means of Roman interference, and this was the use of ideology to foster the image of empire from the time of Augustus onward. Ideology is an important mechanism of power, which helps to legitimize imperial control by denying or masking contradictions, for instance the inequity of one-man rule (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 181). By manipulating perceptions, beliefs and loyalties, ideology can convert conquered populations into 'obedient subjects of a bureaucratic state' (Stoler and Cooper 1997: 7). Rome's ideological program was aimed not so much at justifying the existence of an empire – after all, Rome had already accumulated an empire under the Republic, without feeling a need to propagate an imperial ideology – but at justifying the existence of an imperial family. It is therefore under Augustus (Figure 3.5), who is generally regarded as the first emperor (though his ideology, by its very nature, denied this), that we first get 'the deliberate cultivation of an imperial ideology' to legitimize political control by the ruler and his family



Figure 3.5 Bust of the emperor Augustus, over an earlier original of Domitian. Aquatic sanctuary of the *municipium Turiaso* (Tarazona, España). Indian Sardonyx, height 16 cm. (Museo de Zaragoza. NIG: 80.4.43).

(Keay 1995: 305). This ideology, which was aimed at all inhabitants of the empire but particularly at the provincial elite, aimed to promote not only acceptance of, but loyalty to, the regime. Since this ideology was propagated throughout the Mediterranean world, it also served as a unifying mechanism to make people feel part of a common, great empire. The emperor was widely portrayed as a father-figure and benefactor, through sculpted images (statues, reliefs, coin portraits) and inscriptions (prominent mention of the emperor in dedications of public buildings in the city, and on milestones and boundary stones in the country). Moreover, the Imperial cult portrayed the emperor's father or predecessor as a god, and therefore the emperor himself as semi-divine. Many of the monuments commemorating the emperor were erected not by Roman authorities, but by local officials, eager to publicize their loyalty to the state. By such conscious actions, the elite not only enhanced their own social status and ensured their own social reproduction (Keay 1995: 324), but also guaranteed Rome an ongoing supply of loyal local leaders. Surviving statues or busts of members of the Imperial family in Central Spain include Augustus, Tiberius, Lucius Caesar and Domitian, as well as Livia, Agrippina Minor and Julia daughter of Titus (Curchin 1996a: 145–6). There are also inscriptions dedicated to the emperor or his house. Some of these were set up for his health or safety (*pro salute*), presumably on the occasion of an illness or an assassination attempt (e.g. Almagro Basch 1984: no. 28). Others adorn the bases of lost statues, such as those of Germanicus and Drusus, donated by a local aedile at *Segobriga* (Almagro Basch 1984: nos. 24–26, cf. Alföldy 1987b: 77–80).

We must, finally, consider to what extent Romanization was an aim of Roman policy. Part of Rome's mission, according to a famous passage by Vergil (*Aeneid* 6.852), was 'to add civilization to peace'. However, this was an idealistic goal, which may reflect the Romans' belief in the superiority of their own culture, but not decisions by the government. There was no formal policy on Romanization. The assimilation of conquered peoples was clearly desirable for the cohesion of the empire and as a disincentive to rebellion – it was to Rome's advantage that they should 'blend in' with Roman society and become willing partners rather than opponents – but it could not be legislated or enforced. While the Romans may have favoured, even encouraged, the adoption of a 'Roman' lifestyle by the provincials, they did not (and, for practical reasons, could not) impose it as an official policy (Brunt 1976: 162; MacMullen 1984: 163). Rome's strategy was therefore not one of compulsion, but of participative integration, in which Romans and indigenes voluntarily interacted to achieve the common goal of a peaceful, efficient administration (Curchin 1994b: 87–8). Though armed uprisings had to be suppressed, the Romans generally preferred to promote assimilation through subtle means: practical help and advice, such as consultation in engineering projects, or formulating municipal regulations;

recognition of Romanized individuals (through patronage, citizenship grants or government appointments) and communities; and education for the sons of the elite, so that they might identify with the Roman cause and better fulfil their role in provincial administration (Woolf 1993a: 15; Garnsey 1978: 253). A convenient network of Roman roads, though built originally for military use, promoted contacts between Romans and indigenes and the spread of commodities and ideas. The impressive aqueduct at *Segovia* (Figure 3.6), and the school established by Sertorius at *Osca* in the Ebro valley for chiefs' sons (including, presumably, some from the Meseta) are cases in point (Plutarch, *Sertorius* 14). While the indigenes were by no means hindered from speaking their own language or worshipping native gods, they were encouraged to use Latin and recognize the Roman pantheon, especially the Imperial cult. Mann (1986: 269) goes too far in postulating a conscious state policy of teaching literacy, building theatres and integrating local cults into Roman ones: much of this happened spontaneously at the local level. Non-citizens did not live under Roman law, but in the *Tabula Contrebiensis* of 87 BC we find the provincial governor helping an indigenous town in the Ebro valley with the formulation of a legal judgment on water rights (AE 1979, 377; cf. Richardson 1996: 89). As cities acquired municipal status, Roman law was interpreted in local courts or the governor's assizes, bringing order to people's lives and encouraging a common standard of behaviour. It was not imposed by force, but accepted by consensus (Ando 2000: 76–7). In short, Romanization was achieved through the use of persuasive, rather than coercive, control. Unquestionably Rome was the ruling power, and many decisions affecting the Meseta were made by the emperor or provincial governor; but as communities and individuals became Romanized, they played an increasingly important role in provincial management.



Figure 3.6 Roman aqueduct at *Segovia*.

The army: impact and recruitment

An essential instrument of the conquest, pacification and Romanization of Central Spain was the Roman army. After the consul Cato subdued the Ebro valley in 195, a single legion under command of a praetor was normally assigned to each of the Spains (Citerior and Ulterior). The legion in Citerior was often embroiled in frontier wars with the Celtiberians. Its counterpart in Ulterior initially played a role in the conquest of the Carpetani and Vaccae (in particular, the campaigns of Nobilior in 193 and Albinus in 178) before its attention shifted westward into Lusitania. The important victories of Flaccus and Gracchus in Citerior in 181–178 were achieved with an enlarged force of two legions, plus cavalry and Latin allied troops (Knapp 1979b: 90–2). The garrison in Citerior thereafter reverted to one legion until 153, when the consul Nobilior was sent with an army of nearly 30,000 men (Appian, *Iberica* 45). This has been explained as comprising two legions of Roman citizens (totalling 10,400 men) and a similar number of Italian allies, with the rest being Iberian auxiliaries (Schulten 1937: 11). However, we should remember that allied troops were not necessarily Italian, but could come from some distance – Aetolia, for instance (AE 1996, 900). After 151 so large a force was no longer needed, but during the renewed fighting from 143 to 133 we again find consular armies of roughly 30,000 men in the Meseta (Appian, *Iberica* 76; Florus, 1.34). In the early second century, soldiers often served in Spain for extended periods, but a reform in 151 BC obliged them to be replaced after six years; one such rotation, in 140 BC, left Q. Pompeius with no experienced troops (Livy, 40.36.10; Appian, *Iberica* 78). After the fall of *Numantia*, a single legion under a praetor remained the norm, except during the revolt of Sertorius, when Pompey held Citerior with 30,000 soldiers (Orosius, 5.23.9).

The armies of the Republic have left their mark on the Meseta landscape. In addition to Scipio's siege works around *Numantia*, a number of Roman camps have been identified in the countryside, providing material, but not always securely datable, testimony of the conquest. For instance, Schulten hailed the polygonal camps at Aguilar de Anguita (GU) and Alpanseque (SO), and Camps I–II at Renieblas (SO), as remnants of Cato's campaign against *Segontia* and *Numantia* (Schulten 1930: 313). In fact, there is no reliable dating evidence at all for the first two, which differ tremendously in size (12.4 versus 4.7 hectares). The camp at Aguilar is built on the site of an elevated pre-Roman village, and may rather be a post-conquest establishment for purposes of vigilance (Sánchez-Lafuente Pérez 1979). At Renieblas, where the position of Camps I and II beneath Camp III provides a *terminus ante quem* of 157, we have no assurance that their historical context is 195 rather than 181–178 (Taracena 1941: 140–2). To Nobilior's campaign of 153, Schulten assigned Renieblas Camp III, as well as the rectangular (40.5 hectare) camp at Almazán (SO). The first of these assumptions may well have

been correct, since the numismatic evidence from Camp III (taking into account the amount of 'wear' on the coins after their minting) points to a date between 157 and 146 BC (Hildebrandt 1979: 241–4). The only known campaigns in this district during those years were those of Nobilior in 153 and Marcellus in early 151. Both generals set up camps in the vicinity, but only Nobilior spent the winter (Appian, *Iberica* 47, 50); so this camp with its substantial stone walls and interior buildings is probably his (Schulten 1933: 41). At Almazán, however, the Roman and indigenous pottery points to a date in the latter half of the second century or beginning of the first century BC; the context could be the Numantine conflict of the 130s, the campaign of Didius in 98, or the Sertorian war (Gamer and Ortego 1969: 183–4). More problematic, and at present irresolvable, is the date of Camp V, the largest of the Renieblas *castra* (68.8 hectares). While Schulten attributed it to the war with Sertorius, Hildebrandt (1979: 238) used coin evidence to pinpoint the camp to the period 135–130 BC, and thus (since there were no operations in 135) to Scipio. This would fit Appian's testimony (*Iberica* 86) that in 134, prior to investing *Numantia*, Scipio trained his soldiers by building fortified camps in the nearby plains. However, Hildebrandt's conclusions were based on only fifteen coins, and he excluded a coin of about 110 BC which was found inside a building rather than in a construction level. Moreover, in the internal layout of its barracks, Camp V differs significantly from other Republican camps, and indeed seems to anticipate those of the Empire (Pamment Salvatore 1996: 27, 119, 130). All that can be said with confidence is that Camp V dates to the late second or early first century BC; Schulten's hypothesis of a Sertorian context is therefore tenable but cannot be proved. Lastly, it should be remarked that, with the sole exception of Aguilar, all these camps are located in the northern Meseta, and more precisely, in the neighbourhood of *Numantia*. No camps have yet been found among the Carpetani, though Campanian ware, the pottery used by the Republican army, suggests a military presence in their territory (Blasco Bosqued *et al.* 1982: 53).

The Sertorian war was the last major conflict in the Meseta, but there was considerable military activity among the Vaccaeï and Turmogi on the eve of Augustus' conquest of the north-west. In 29 BC, Statilius Taurus completed the subjugation of the Vaccaeï and thereby came to blows with their western and northern neighbours, the Astures and Cantabri (Dio Cassius, 51.20.5; cf. Syme 1970: 85). A string of fortified camps along the Asturian frontier – at Molacillos (ZA) on the river Valderaduey, and San Pedro de Latarce and Tordehumos (both VA) on its tributary the Sequillo – are plausibly connected with this campaign (Sevillano 1978: 180–2; Palol and Wattenberg 1974: 138–9, 160). So is the camp at Villalazán (ZA) on the left bank of the Duero, still visible from the air (Bragado Toranzo 1994: 78; Olmo Martín 1995: 115–18). The Cantabri, as Florus (2.33.47–8) informs us, not only defended their independence but launched repeated raids on the Vaccaeï,

Turmogi and Autrigones, until Augustus invaded their territory in 26. The archaeological evidence for campaigns against the Cantabri by Taurus and his successors is elusive: reports of Roman camps at Villamoronta (P), Sandoval de la Reina, Mansilla, Las Quintanillas and Tardajos (all BU) remain unverified (Navarro García 1930–46, vol. 3: 40; Osaba y Ruiz 1962: 260–7). Augustus himself (as Florus tells us) set up a camp at *Segisama*, but the location of this town is disputed and no camp has been found. It must be distinct from *Segisamo* (modern Sasamón), since Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 3.26) and Ptolemy (2.6.49, 51) list both and give *Segisama* the title *Iulia*, which suggests it was honoured by Augustus. Pliny is perhaps mistaken in assigning *Segisama* to the Turmogi, since both Ptolemy and Polybius (34.9.13) put it among the Vaccae; the disagreement of these sources has made it harder to identify the site. By 16 BC the conquest of the north-west was complete.

The only legion remaining in Central Spain thereafter was *legio IV Macedonica*, strategically positioned just south of Cantabria on the river Pisuerga. A combination of pottery (bearing the legion's stamp), weapons and coins (including special military coinage with the head of Augustus on the obverse and a shield on the reverse, as well as legionary countermarks on other coins) indicates that its headquarters was at Herrera de Pisuerga (P) (Curchin 1991: 74; Pérez González *et al.* 1995). However, boundary stones show that the legion had grazing lands (*prata*) near *Iuliobriga* (another town named after Augustus) in Cantabria itself (Solana Sáinz 1981: endmap). A lone marker has also been found near Villasidro (BU), separating the legion's *prata* from the territory of *Segisamo*. It is unclear whether the grazing lands of *legio IV Macedonica* stretched the entire 55 km between these two districts, or whether (as Solana Sáinz 1976: 49 has suggested) the legion's territory was moved northward in the reign of Tiberius. The legion was later moved to the Rhine, almost certainly in preparation for Caligula's proposed invasion of Britain in AD 40 (Le Roux 1982: 85; Gómez-Pantoja 2000: 111). Its place seems to have been taken by an auxiliary cavalry unit, the *ala I Augusta*. At any rate, the latter is named on a bronze tablet of AD 40 (*CIL* II, 5792), recording hospitality between *Clunia* and the prefect of this squadron, a native of *Brixia* in Italy (Valvo 1998). The squadron's camp may have been at Añavieja (SO) where two altars to the Roman war god have been found, both datable to the first century AD. One of these was dedicated by two brothers who were cavalrymen in the *ala I Augusta*; the other is from a discharged soldier (*missicius*) who does not specify his unit (*AE* 1987, 618a; Hübner 1899a: no.149).

In the Flavian period, the old legionary camp at Herrera de Pisuerga was occupied (perhaps not simultaneously) by two auxiliary units. One, as tile stamps attest, was an *ala Parthorum* (Pérez González 1996). The presence of this Parthian cavalry squadron in Spain is consonant with Vespasian's policy of stationing auxiliaries far from home, to deter their participation in revolts:

the Parthians may have found the cold, rugged Meseta comparable to conditions in their native Zagros mountains. Despite their exotic origin, the soldiers had Romanized names, to judge from an inscribed shield boss owned by one Firmus, in the troop of Victorinus (Perea Yébenes 2001), and a bowl of Spanish *terra sigillata* bearing the graffito of the cavalryman Flavinus (*HEp* 7, 559). Also evident at Herrera de Pisuerga is a mounted company, the *cohors prima Gallica equitata civium Romanorum*, of whom we have the inscriptions of its prefect Cornelianus, and of an *eques duplicarius* (a long-serving cavalryman drawing double pay) born at *Lugdunum* in Gaul (*CIL* II, 2912–13, cf. Le Roux 1982: 148).

At a smaller (2.3 hectare) camp just south of *Uxama*, surface survey has yielded Spanish *sigillata* dating to the second half of the first century AD or later (García Merino 1996). Its diminutive size suggests that it did not house an entire military unit but only a vexillation, perhaps of the *Legio VII Gemina* which was based at León. This identification is possibly supported by a second-century inscription from *Uxama*, dedicated by a soldier of this legion (*AE* 1914, 21). The position of the camp at the junction of the *Asturica–Caesaraugusta* and *Uxama–Segovia* highway might suggest that its role was route security, but this is uncertain; the site could have been chosen rather to permit the vexillation to travel rapidly to any trouble-spot in the district.

The role of the military forces in the Meseta included the maintenance of peace and order, and the construction and repair of roads. Vigilance was necessary, especially during the conquest period, to keep an eye on the native populace and to guard Roman supply routes. Late Republican watch towers have been found near Griegos (TE) and Villoldo (P), the latter probably intended to give early warning of raids by the Cantabri (Lostal Pros 1980: 212; Ministerio de Cultura 1984: 134). Furthermore, it is likely that pre-Roman watch towers associated with native *oppida* continued to be used for surveillance by the Romans (Castro López and Gutiérrez Soler 2001: 155). Security of mining routes in the Moncayo district is the likeliest explanation of Roman observation posts at Borja and Badarrón (both Z) (Lostal Pros 1980: 143; Bona López and Hernández Vera 1989: 129). A Roman camp near Canales de Molina (GU) was undoubtedly intended to guard the copper mines there (García-Gelabert 1984: 292n.), while a military outpost at Colmenares de Ojeda (P), presumably manned by *legio IV Macedonica*, may have controlled a mining route through the Cantabrian Cordillera (Pérez González *et al.* 1992: 34). Lead ingots stamped with the name of this legion as well as that of Agrippa, found in a shipwreck in Italy, suggest that the soldiers may have extracted the ore; literary evidence mentions soldiers working in provincial mines in the Julio-Claudian period (García-Bellido 1998: 27–30; Tacitus, *Annals* 11.20.3). In addition to its intended functions, the army also played an incidental role in Romanization. It stimulated the Spanish economy by encouraging agricultural production to feed the legions, and by importing wine, probably from Catalunya. The army may also have

contracted with indigenous suppliers for provision of pottery, metalwares, clothing and leather goods. A single legion required roughly two thousand tonnes of grain each year, and the skins of an estimated 54,000 calves for tentage (Wells 1999: 142–5). In addition, individual soldiers purchased local goods and services (such as wine and women), putting Roman coins into circulation. The security provided by the army, bringing an end to raids between chiefdoms, allowed towns to descend safely from their hilltop sites to more convenient locations on the plateau. One town, *Pisoraca*, may owe its origin to the presence of a legionary camp.

One of the most important ways in which Mesetans became Romanized was through service with the Roman army. Such service provided them with pay (a useful antidote to indigenous poverty) and the prestige of having served with the Roman army. Many of them returned home with some knowledge of Latin and a taste for Roman wine, food and table vessels. This created a market for importing Roman luxury goods into the Meseta to supply retired auxiliaries with things to which they had grown accustomed while in service. Recruitment of indigenous soldiers began at an early date. Twenty thousand Celtiberians (the number is suspiciously high) were enrolled as *auxilia* by Publius and Gnaeus Scipio in 211, but were bribed by the Carthaginian general Hasdrubal to desert the Roman cause (Livy, 25.32). Both Cato and his enemies the Turdulians hired Celtiberian mercenaries in 195 BC (Plutarch, *Moralia* 199c; Livy, 34.17.2). The treaty of Sempronius Gracchus required the Celtiberians to provide contingents for the Roman army, and Celtiberian cavalry were requisitioned by the Romans during the war of 153–151 BC (Appian, *Iberica* 44, 47–8, 52). In the early first century, Sertorius enrolled troops from the Arevaci, Celtiberi, Vaccae and ‘Cerindones’ (Pelendones) (Livy, fr. 91; Appian, *Civil War* 1.112). Celtiberians also fought for the Pompeian forces in Spain in the 40s BC (Caesar, *Civil War* 1.38.3; Appian, *Civil War* 2.103). Under the Empire, some chiefdoms provided auxiliary units that served on various frontiers: two cavalry squadrons of Arevaci (*alae Arevacorum*) served on the Danube, while an infantry cohort (the *cohors Celtiberorum*) is recorded in Britain, Mauretania and Gallaecia. However, the names of these units reflect their ethnic composition only at the time they were formed; once stationed on distant frontiers, they replenished their ranks from the local population as the original members died or retired. In addition to these ethnic units, Mesetans enrolled themselves in various legions and *auxilia*, and at least six legionaries were admitted to the elite Praetorian Guard. There have been no studies of the possible effects upon Central Spain of sending ethnic units overseas; however, evidence from Lower Germany suggests that removal of a large part of the male population for auxiliary service triggered an economic shift from livestock-raising to agriculture (Wells 1999: 136).

Legionaries who explicitly state their town of origin include six from *Clunia*, and one each from *Palantia*, *Toletum* and *Arcobriga* (Alföldy 2001);

only three of the eight were in the *legio VII Gemina*, stationed in Spain. Soldiers in auxiliary units give their origin as *Cauca*, *Clunia*, *Segontia*, *Termes*. An equestrian officer from *Nova Augusta* (an Arevacan town of uncertain location) was commander of the *cobors I Celtiberorum* in AD 132 (Curchin 1995c: 58). All these soldiers are known from inscriptions found outside Central Spain. Within our region, there are more than thirty inscriptions recording soldiers or veterans; these include nineteen legionaries (nine of them in *legio VII*), nine auxiliaries, one Praetorian, and six whose unit is not stated. It is, however, unclear whether these are natives of the Meseta, or men who settled there upon retirement. Given the low level of immigration into this region, the former possibility is more likely, though it cannot be proved. The presence of five ex-soldiers in the vicinity of Lara de los Infantes (BU) suggests that some districts were fertile recruiting grounds for the Roman army (Curchin 1995c: 53–5). Mesetans may have enlisted because of local unemployment, a desire to see the world, or the promise of Roman citizenship on completion of twenty-five years in the *auxilia*. Whatever their reasons for enrolment, military service undoubtedly contributed to their assimilation into Roman society – though it must be noted that those who joined the legions would already be Roman citizens and some would already be Romanized. Some may have played a role in power struggles at Rome: one soldier, in an unnamed unit, styles himself *miles Otonianus*, showing his loyalty to Otho, one of the four rival emperors in AD 69 (AE 1988.788, cf. Le Roux 2000).

Conclusions

The Meseta of the last two centuries BC was an area of conflict, but also of contact and interaction between Roman and indigenous cultures. The conquest was lengthy, thanks to hostile terrain, native resistance, and sometimes feckless Roman commanders, who tended to react to problems (such as revolts) rather than anticipating them. The Celtiberian wars were, in fact, a training ground for both sides: the Romans encountered unaccustomed guerrilla tactics, while Mesetans faced Roman technology, such as artillery and siege engines. Unfortunately, it is difficult to reconstruct events because our literary sources are all pro-Roman and misleadingly portray the frontier situation as one of binary opposition between Romans and savages. Throughout this period, the Senate lacked a clear strategy; military operations and provincial administration were at the discretion of individual governors. After a successful initial conquest and the model administrative arrangements made by Sempronius Gracchus, which lasted from 179 to 154 BC, Celtiberia was plunged into an abortive struggle for independence which continued until the fall of *Numantia* in 133 BC. By the end of the Sertorian war, armed resistance had all but disappeared.

The indigenes adopted both positive and negative responses to the Romans, their strategies ranging from armed revolt to co-operation in the

form of alliance with Rome and provision of troops and tribute. Some chiefdoms (notably the Belli and Titthi) played an equivocal role, siding with either the Romans or the rebels as advantage, or the proximity of troops, dictated. For their part, the Romans often exhibited a negative attitude toward the inhabitants, regarding them as wild barbarians – a view which served to justify occasional Roman atrocities. This perception seems to have relaxed considerably as revolts came to an end, and both Romans and indigenes settled down to peaceable co-existence. Since the Roman presence during the Republic was almost exclusively military, the degree of Romanization at this stage was primarily limited to the imposition of peace and order, though native contacts with soldiers (in garrison towns, for example) may have acquainted them with Italian language and customs.

Roman policy in Republican times suffered from inconsistency. The initiative was in the hands of field commanders armed with *imperium*, while the Senate generally exerted control only at arm's length. The governing strategies of particular commanders varied from benign to cruel, from persuasive to coercive; in the end, however, co-operation proved more effective than confrontation. By the first century AD, Rome had developed a regional administrative structure in Central Spain, based not on chiefdoms but on *conventus* as the supralocal level of organization. While towns had their own internal administration, the *conventus* capitals fulfilled judicial, economic and religious functions. The key to successful provincial government was the maintenance of the loyalty and collaboration of local elites, who assured peace, justice and tax collection in each city. Through positive interaction with indigenous elites, Roman authorities were able to integrate them into the power structure. Romanization was a logical consequence of Rome's strategy of reorganization and encouragement of indigenous communities. Making the cities responsible for their own internal administration and finance was an effective method of decentralization.

To portray Roman policy as lenient, beneficent or *laissez-faire* would apply a false mask to the dominance of power. Rome was the conqueror; however, the peace resulting from the conquest fostered positive indigenous responses to Roman rule. Even after the conquest, the army maintained vigilance, as camps and watch stations suggest. The indigenous population was committed to the support of Roman troops, including garrisons in the towns and dedication of land and labour to food production. The demilitarization of the region in the first century AD is a clear sign of pacification: instead of fighting Rome, Mesetans now enrolled in the Roman legions or auxiliaries for service abroad. Ideology was used to bind provincial loyalties to the empire and emperor. The region was politically integrated with Rome by the extension of Roman citizenship and by incorporating cities, under locally elected magistrates, into the hierarchy of provincial control. However, Rome did not pursue a conscious policy of Romanization: rather, acculturation occurred through the willingness of the indigenes to accept Roman commodities and lifestyles.

FROM HILLFORT TO CITY

The city is not an immutable fact: it is born, it grows, it progresses, it prospers, it survives, and sometimes it dies.

(Balil 1987: 143)

All other conflicts have left the cities, but one rivalry obsesses them: how each may look the most beautiful and appealing.

(Aelius Aristides, *Orations* 26.97)

Unquestionably one of the lasting legacies of the Roman empire in the West was the establishment of urban institutions. More nebulous and controversial is the process by which this occurred. Were the indigenous settlements abandoned, unable to compete with new cities founded by the Romans, or were those settlements themselves transformed into cities? How urbanized was Central Spain before the Roman conquest, and how did the intensity of urbanization change afterward? Was urbanization a matter of Roman policy or of local choice? What was involved in the urbanizing process, and how long did it take? The evidence from Central Spain provides answers to all these questions.

Settlement patterns

Though described in both ancient and modern sources as a barren land, the Meseta had a surprisingly large number of settlements. Most ancient settlements are either pre-Roman or Roman: relatively few span both eras, notwithstanding a recent claim that there was greater continuity in indigenous settlement than is usually thought (Downs 2000: 197). The process of transition from Iron II to Roman residential landscape is therefore difficult to trace. While we may never fully understand the varied spectrum of settlement change, it is at least possible to explain how and why settlements and settlement patterns changed between the pre-Roman and Roman periods.

The study of ancient settlements in Central Spain presents a number of formidable problems to the researcher. First, though hundreds of settlement sites (not counting farms or villas) are recorded, these are often known only from surface or aerial survey or from casual reports, and have not been adequately excavated or published. Consequently, information is often not available on the size and layout of the settlement. Second, site distribution maps tend to reflect the activity of archaeologists rather than the actual settlement pattern. For instance, apparent concentration of settlements in river valleys may result from archaeologists not exploring further inland. Third, there are many instances where a Celtiberian cemetery has been found, but not an associated settlement. Undoubtedly, then, more settlements await discovery. Fourth, it is not always clear whether sites with large ceramic assemblages and traces of construction are villages or large farms. I have generally followed the judgement of the local archaeologists in identifying such sites as 'settlements' or 'villas', but the interpretation is sometimes subjective and uncertain. Fifth, many of the cities of the Roman Imperial period, while securely identified by epigraphic finds, have yielded little or no trace of pre-Roman occupation, even though some of them are named in literary accounts of wars during the Republic. In some of these cases, towns may have moved to another site after the original settlement was destroyed. In others, the pre-Roman layers may have been removed when the site was levelled to build a monumental city centre.

In this chapter, settlements will frequently be described as 'Iron II' or 'Roman'. Since the vast majority of sites in Central Spain have not been excavated and are known only from surface finds, this periodization is based chiefly on ceramic evidence. Iron II sites abound in Celtiberian pottery, dating from the fourth to first century BC. 'Roman' designates sites belonging to the time of the Early Empire; these are easily dated by *terra sigillata*, which begins with Italian and South Gaulish imports in the time of Augustus, though other distinctive Roman wares may also be present. A site with an ample assemblage of both Celtiberian wares and *terra sigillata* is deemed to continue from Iron II into Roman. One shortcoming of this classification is that it fails to address a grey area, the Late Republic, since some sites have yielded Campanian ware, Dressel 1A amphoras, or Roman coins dating to this period. Should such sites be considered 'Roman' or not? This problem is more apparent than real, because most of the Iron II settlements with Republican Roman finds continue into the Early Empire in any event. Sites with Republican and Imperial, but no Celtiberian, finds are exceedingly rare and are treated here as Roman. Sites with Iron II and Republican, but no Imperial, are deemed to have been abandoned without becoming 'Roman'. Most of these abandonments probably occurred during the upheavals of the Sertorian war, when indigenous towns had begun to import Roman goods but were not sufficiently Romanized to be considered Roman settlements. It is possible that some villages whose occupation

continues into the Roman period may have rejected Roman imports and thus used only Celtiberian pottery; such settlements will falsely appear to be confined to Iron II (cf. Wells 1999: 131). However, Roman pottery is so widespread in the Meseta that such cases are probably few.

In any case, 'Roman' settlements should not be understood as settlements built by Rome, but as settlements dating to the Early Empire. In the absence of clear evidence for Roman veteran colonies in Central Spain, all towns may be considered indigenous settlements. *Clunia* is named as a colony by Ptolemy (2.6.55) and in a Hadrianic inscription (*CIL* II, 2780), but may be an honorary colony of the second century AD, rather than a veteran colony as some would claim (Haley 1992; Richardson 1995: 349). The fact that *Clunia* is given the surname *Sulpicia* on a coin of the emperor Sulpicius Galba (AD 68–9) proves imperial privilege but not colonial status; and neither that epithet nor a substantial number of veterans appears in the city's epigraphy. Haley (1992) cites a local inscription (Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 103) mentioning *veteres*, which he interprets as the old inhabitants of a community to which a Galban veteran settlement had been added. However, the inscription actually reads VETERTS F, the second 'T' being plainly a mason's error (Figure 4.1). It is therefore less likely *veteres f(e)cerunt* 'the old inhabitants made (this)' than *Veteris f(ilius)* 'son of Vetus'. Vetus, genitive Veteris, is



Figure 4.1 Inscription from *Clunia*, hitherto supposed to prove the existence of a Galban veteran colony. The inscription more likely reads *Veteris f(ilius)* 'son of Vetus'.

a Latin *cognomen* attested at several other sites in the Iberian Peninsula (Kajanto 1965: 302; Abascal 1994: 544). Thus there is no proof that *Clunia* was a veteran colony, rather than an Augustan *municipium* that was awarded an imperial title by Galba. After the overthrow of that ephemeral emperor, the city may have found it prudent to disown his surname, which is never mentioned again.

Iron Age settlement

In order to study the transition to Roman settlement, it is necessary to understand what preceded it. The Meseta conforms to the typical settlement pattern of chiefdoms, which is sedentary and hierarchical (A.W. Johnson and Earle 2000: 247). Of 441 recorded Iron II settlement sites in Central Spain (complete list with references in Curchin 2002b), only 94, or 21 per cent, continued in use from the preceding Iron I period. Most of the Iron II settlements in our region were therefore new foundations. The siting and layout of the Iron II settlements was determined by several factors. Defence was a prime consideration. Nearly all Iron II settlements were located on hills with an ample view of the surrounding plain. Intervisibility with other sites provided visual control of subordinate settlements and facilitated mutual defence between neighbours. In general, however, sites were not close together, and since Central Spain has a surface area of roughly 100,000 square kilometres, the average Iron II settlement density would be between three and four settlements per 1,000 square kilometres.

The typical Iron II emplacement is the 'castro' or hillfort, a walled village on an easily defended height (Almagro-Gorbea 1995a: 175). A settlement might be located on either the crest or slope of an elevated feature, such as a conical or flat-topped hill, a promontory, spur, or hog-back ridge (Aranda Marco 1986: 348; Llanos Ortiz 1995: 291). In rare cases, such as *Contrebia Leucade* and Palenzuela (P), the site might consist of two castros embraced by a circuit wall (Castro García 1970: 66; Hernández Vera 1982: 15). Lowland settlements are few because of their obvious vulnerability to attack. In some districts, defence may not have been a major concern. Hence there are numerous unwallled Iron II settlements near Molina (GU) and Ocaña (TO), though the basis of their dating, the absence of Roman pottery, is no guarantee that they are not post-conquest (Arenas Esteban 1999: 216; Urbina Martínez 2000: 143). Of 376 Iron II settlements for which siting information is available, 291 or 77 per cent were located on crests or promontories; 39 or 10 per cent on slopes; and 46 or 12 per cent on plains.

Apart from defence, factors in settlement siting included communications, water supply, drainage, arable soil, minerals, and wind protection. Most pre-Roman sites were probably linked by roads or tracks, though scant trace of these survives. The vast majority of settlements were located near major or secondary rivers, which provided not only water for drinking,

washing and irrigation, but also a means of travel by boat or raft. Rivers also yielded the wet clay needed for the mud-brick walls of houses and for pottery production, as well as assisting in defence. Hillforts were often located in a fork or meander of a river, which afforded protection on at least two sides, and they not infrequently controlled a river crossing. Placing the settlement on a hill above the river also minimized the risk of flooding and avoided building on prime alluvial soil. Water could also be obtained from springs or cisterns. Drainage was usually provided by the slope of the hill, assisted if necessary by rock-cut channels. Proximity to economic resources such as cultivatable soil, pasturage and minerals was also an important factor in optimal siting. Minerals, particularly iron, were vital to metallurgical industries in the town. *Bilbilis* and *Turiaso* were located in the iron-rich Moncayo district. The presence of iron in the Sierra de Albarracín (TE) may account for the large number of Iron II sites in this mountainous district – a hypothesis confirmed by frequent finds of iron scoria in the settlements (Collado Villalba 1990: 101). Protection against the bitter north wind was possible by siting the village on a southerly slope, or, as in the case of Used (Z), by using an adjacent mountain range as a windbreak (Aranda Marco 1986: 163).

Though few have been fully excavated, the Iron II settlement typically contains rectangular houses of either mud brick or 'tapial' (moulded mud) on a stone foundation. The houses are usually arranged in blocks separated by streets, though the blocks are rarely rectilinear because of the contours of the hill. The narrow streets and closely packed houses provided shade and wind protection for the residents. The houses nearest to the circuit wall often abut onto it, or even – as at *Numantia* and La Coronilla (Chera, GU) – use it as their rear wall (Schulten 1931: plate 29; Cerdeño Serrano and Juez 2002). Besides houses, settlements contain artisanal spaces such as pottery kilns and smithies. The land immediately surrounding the settlement was devoted to intensive agriculture; indeed the sides of the hill on which the village stood were often terraced for this purpose. Around this core of farmland was an outer 'ring' of pasture and forest suitable for grazing and hunting.

A prominent characteristic of the *castro* is fortification. Most sites are steeply scarped on one or more sides, while a river adjacent to the settlement often forms a further obstacle. These natural defences were frequently complemented by a wall of heavy stone blocks, between three and ten metres thick, around all or part of the settlement's perimeter. The preference for a drystone wall around the complete circuit, instead of only on vulnerable accesses as in Iron I, is paralleled in the La Tène culture (Audouze and Buchenschutz 1989: 311). The labour-intensiveness of such a construction, which involved quarrying, moving and assembling gigantic volumes of stone – for example, an estimated 5,000 cubic metres for the wall at Ocenilla (SO), which encloses seven hectares (Taracena 1932: 41) – might seem to reveal a preoccupation with defence. However, its purpose was not only protection,

but a demarcation of the village's limits, possibly with religious implications – a sacred boundary, like the Roman *pomoerium*. Most castros are univallate, but some have both an outer and inner circuit. Fosos de Bayona (CU) uniquely has three circuit walls, fronted by V-shaped ditches eight metres deep; however, these walls are not concentric but arranged in series, enclosing the three sections of the town (Gras *et al.* 1984: 50). A few sites, such as *Termes*, *Contrebia Leucade* and Villanueva de Jiloca (TE) were so protected by their steep flanks that no wall was necessary (Burillo 1980: 112; Jimeno and Arlegui Sánchez 1995: 115). The wall visible around *Termes* today (Figure 4.2) is Late Roman, and its purpose may not have been primarily defensive. Though a circle would provide the largest enclosed area within the shortest perimeter, the shape of the circuit wall ultimately depended on the contours of the ground. On a conical hill the wall is usually circular; on an elongated one, oval; on a hill of irregular shape, polygonal. Of 119 Iron II castros of recorded shape, sixteen or 13 per cent are circular, thirty-eight or 32 per cent oval, eighteen or 15 per cent triangular, twenty-four or 20 per cent rectangular or trapezoidal, while twenty-three or 19 per cent are of irregular shape. Walls were equipped with gates and often reinforced by circular or square towers, which served as observation posts and bulwarks at vulnerable points. In front of the wall was often a defensive ditch – in rare cases, a double line of ditches – with either a square, round-bottom or V-shaped profile, and

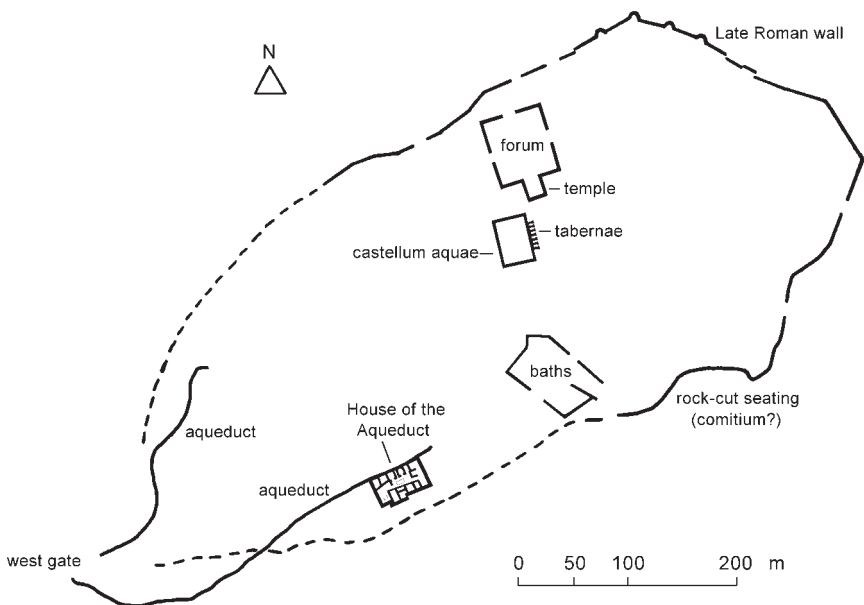


Figure 4.2 Plan of *Termes* (after Argente Oliver 1990b).

sometimes reaching a depth of twelve metres. Ditches often had to be carved in living rock, thus providing not only defence but cut stone for the walls; and in some cases they may have doubled as cisterns in time of peace (Collado Villalba 1990: 27). At *Contrebia Leucade*, the square-bottomed ditch (about eight metres wide by eight deep) surrounding the town required the removal of 40,000 cubic metres of stone, which was used to construct the wall (Lorrio 1997: 90). Of 166 Iron II sites for which information on fortifications exists, fifty or 30 per cent had a partial wall, and 116 or 70 per cent a complete circuit; twenty-one or 13 per cent of these walls had towers, and fifty-six or 34 per cent were accompanied by a ditch. At a further six sites there were towers but no trace of a wall, and twenty-one sites had a ditch but no visible wall.

In size, most Iron II settlements are quite small. Of 196 sites whose area is documented, thirty-one or 16 per cent exceed 10 hectares, twenty-eight or 14 per cent are 6–10 hectares, forty-eight or 24 per cent are 1–5 hectares, and eighty-nine or 45 per cent are less than 1 hectare. Many of the settlements in or adjacent to the Vaccaean region are unusually big (for example, Aguilar de Campos 31.6 hectares, Tordesillas 55, Montealegre 67, Palenzuela 70), perhaps because they are located in a rich grain-growing area capable of supporting a large population (San Miguel Maté 1989: 91). However, there are also settlements of considerable size in the southern Meseta: Alcocer (GU) 37 hectares, Patones (M) nearly 50. Though these pale in comparison with the enclosed area of some Iron II towns in central Europe (Heidengarten 1500 hectares, Kelheim 630) and Britain (Stanwick 340 hectares), the latter were not densely settled but included space for refugees, herds and crops during times of siege. Although it is customary to describe these large nucleated settlements as *oppida*, ancient literary sources are notoriously inconsistent in their use of the terms *oppidum*, *civitas* and *urbs*, and modern attempts at precise definition of *oppida* (for instance, as ‘central places’, ‘manufacturing centres’, ‘commercial centres’, or ‘political and administrative centres’) often seem biased or anachronistic.

Terminology aside, there is clearly a settlement hierarchy, with an implied political and economic relationship between the few large centres, with their concentration of human activity, and the numerous small satellites in the surrounding territory, at varying distances from the town. In a river valley we sometimes find a linear hierarchy: for instance, in the Jiloca and Huerva valleys, forty-three sites were smaller than 1.6 hectares, while only two exceeded nine hectares (Burillo 1994: 383). In theory, the largest town in each chiefdom should be the dominant political or administrative centre (Renfrew 1982: 3). This is difficult to test in the Meseta because it is unclear whether each chiefdom had a single dominant town in Iron II, or a number of relatively autonomous centres (as suggested, for example, by those issuing coins) which co-operated in time of war. It is often difficult to distinguish the chief city in a region where several *oppida* are involved in artisanal and

coining activities (Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1989: 318). While size is the primary criterion in the hierarchization of sites, other factors such as location and production may also be important (Santos Velasco 1987–8: 128). Moreover, the chief town of a small chiefdom may be smaller than some of the less important towns in a larger area (Renfrew 1982: 3). Thus *Numantia* (with an acropolis of 7.6 hectares, and traces of a possible outer wall enclosing a further four hectares) is much smaller than many of the Vaccaean settlements, despite its obvious political and military importance (Jimeno 1996: 68–9).

Roman settlement

Although Roman conquest in Central Spain began in the early second century BC, the Romans of the Republic had little impact on settlement, except for the devastation of Iron II settlements. Most famous is the destruction of *Numantia* by Scipio Aemilianus in 133 BC; other sites were ravaged during the Sertorian war (80–73 BC). The castro of Izana (SO), destroyed by fire in the first half of the first century BC, may be a victim of the latter conflict (Taracena 1941: 88). Occasionally a town was forcibly abandoned. For instance, after capturing *Colenda* in 97 BC, T. Didius sold the entire population into slavery. However, abandonment was usually the result of voluntary choice in response to changing conditions (Nelson 2000: 61). For instance, crops may have been burned or confiscated, obliging the residents to move to another district to find food. Refugees from one destroyed or abandoned settlement sometimes fled to others: *Complega* grew rapidly as a refugee centre, and *Segeda* had to extend its walls in 153 BC to accommodate people from neighbouring chiefdoms (Appian, *Iberica* 42, 44, 99). Of the 441 Iron II settlements, 319 or 72 per cent were abandoned before the time of the Empire (Curchin 2002b). A number of towns mentioned in accounts of the wars of conquest (for example *Complega*, *Aebura*, *Centobriga*) are never heard of again, and were presumably destroyed, abandoned, or relocated with a change of name. Most abandonments occurred in the last two centuries BC, though a few were later. The important Iron II settlement of ‘San Esteban’ near El Poyo del Cid (TE) was abandoned, for reasons unknown, in the time of Nero (Burillo 1991b: 359–60), whereupon the Celtibero-Roman site ‘La Loma del Prado’ near Fuentes Claras became the leading town of this district. Burillo’s proposal to identify San Esteban with Ptolemy’s *Leonica* of the Edetani (Burillo 1998: 323) is made difficult by the find of a Celtiberian inscription at nearby ‘La Caridad’: the Edetani were Iberian, not Celtiberian. La Loma might be *Urbiaca* (attested by Antonine Itinerary 447.5 as lying four-sevenths of the distance from *Libisosa* to *Caesaraugusta*), or an unknown town.

In some cases, the population of a hillfort moved to lower ground, either because the original settlement had been destroyed, or because more peaceful

conditions and the construction of Roman roads made castros unnecessary; it was more convenient to live in the plain. When warfare is not an urgent threat, a lowland location has the advantage of minimizing effort and movement, placing the residents nearer to their fields and flocks, to water and other natural resources, to markets and communication routes. Lowland sites were also sheltered from the bitter winds that made hilltops uncomfortable. One of the most dramatic examples of this 'descent to the plains' or downward shift of settlements can be seen at Lara de los Infantes (BU). The Iron I village was on the inaccessible height known as Peñalara, the Iron II settlement was on the somewhat lower hill of La Muela, and the Roman town was at the base of the hill, on the site of present-day Lara (Figure 4.3). Thus, despite continuous occupation from Iron I through Roman, the focus of settlement shifted from peak to lowland (Abásolo and García Rozas 1980: 63). *Consabura*, originally situated on the Cerro Calderico, descended to a site on the river Amarguillo, where its modern namesake Consuegra still stands. After the Celtiberian revolt of 153–133 BC, *Segeda* descended from the castro of Poyo de Mara to the nearby lowland site of Durón de Belmonte (Z), though it does not seem to have outlasted the Sertorian war (Burillo 2001a: 98–102). At Castrojeriz (BU), the Roman settlement was built over the lowland cemetery of the Iron II hillfort (Ministerio de Cultura 1980: 63).

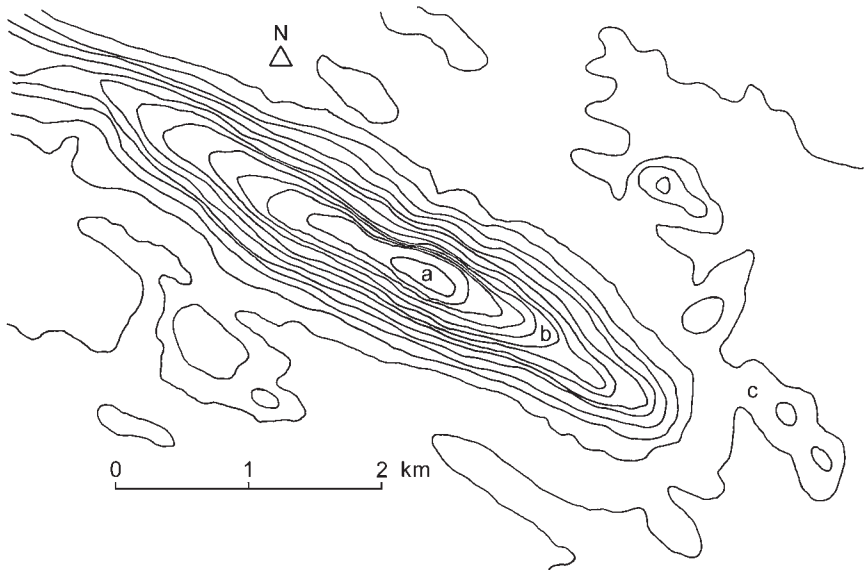


Figure 4.3 Settlements at Lara de los Infantes (BU): a Peñalara (Iron I settlement); b La Muela (Iron II settlement); c modern Lara (Roman settlement) (after Abásolo and García Rozas 1980).

Other sites which see a downward shift of settlement include Alba (TE), Huerta de Abajo (BU), Soliedra (SO), Tardajos (BU), Chera (GU), Villagarcía de Campos (VA) and Palencia (P). In most cases of downward shift, the Iron II settlement contains Late Celtiberian ceramics but lacks *terra sigillata*, the Roman pottery that becomes ubiquitous by the start of the first century AD; the settlements therefore appear to have been moved before or during the first century BC.

In some cases, however, the descent occurred later. At Herrera de Pisuergra (P), there is indigenous pottery on the castro of La Bastida, and Augustan and early Tiberian (Italian) *terra sigillata* on other hill sites (Chorquilla, Ribera, Cuartel, Cuatro Esquinas), but Gaulish and proto-Hispanic *sigillata* of the late Tiberian to Neronian period is found on the plain near the Burejo river. This is the site of *Pisoraca*, adjacent to the camp of *Legio IV Macedonica*. Therefore, according to ceramic evidence, settlement did not move to lower ground until well into the Julio-Claudian era, perhaps in the form of *canabae*, a civilian settlement outside a Roman fort (Crespo Ortiz and Sagredo San Eustaquio 1979–80: 131; Pérez González 1986: 50–2). At *Complutum*, ceramic evidence indicates that occupation on the San Juan del Viso hill continued into the early first century AD before the town gradually descended to the Juncal plain in the Flavian period (Fernández-Galiano 1984: 377, 397; Rascón Marqués 1995: 36–8). This example may remind us of the letter of the Flavian emperor Vespasian to the magistrates of *Sabora* in Baetica, approving their request to rebuild the town in the plain (*CIL* II, 1423); the move of *Complutum* perhaps involved a similar procedure. *Segontia* remained on the Iron II hilltop of Villavieja until well into the Early Empire (as shown by pottery, including Hispanic *sigillata*) before descending to a site three kilometres away, just across the Henares river in modern Sigüenza. Here have been found huge column bases, Roman coins, a mosaic pavement, and a dedication to Epona of the late first or early second century (Morère 1983: 52–6; Alföldy 1987b: 65–6). Another type of downward shift, which does not involve abandonment of the original site, occurs when the settlement expands beyond its pre-Roman limits and ‘spills’ haphazardly down the hillside, an ancient antecedent of ‘urban sprawl’. For instance, at Solarana (BU) the Roman houses are found partly within the walls of the Iron II castro, but also on the slope and in the plain (where there are baths); and a stretch of Roman road found at Solarana, far from bypassing the castro, passes right over it (González Salas 1953: 74). One limitation to such expansion was that cemeteries had to remain outside the city.

Those hillforts that continued to be occupied in the Roman period are sometimes described as ‘Romanized castros’, but this term is inaccurate since these sites retained their pre-Roman character; the presence of Roman pottery or coins shows survival of the site into the Roman period, rather than Romanization (Espinosa 1992: 906–7). This survival of Iron II castros into Roman times is especially prevalent in Soria, Burgos and Valladolid

provinces (García Merino 1975: 335, 376). Inertia, or reluctance of the inhabitants to abandon their traditional homes on a secure site, probably explains such cases as Tariego de Cerrato (P), an Iron II hillslope settlement which has yielded archaeological evidence of three Republican destructions (possibly by Lucullus, Brutus and Pompey), but which continued to be occupied until the third century AD. The Romans themselves took advantage of the strategic position of this site by building a fort on the castro, around which grew the Roman town (Castro García 1974). Also, some settlements abandoned during the wars of the Republic were later reoccupied. These include *Numantia*, which was destroyed in 133 BC but whose coin finds disclose a vigorous occupation in the first century BC (Jimeno 1996: 75); *Termes*, whose inhabitants were forcibly moved to an unwallled site in the plain by Didius in 98 BC (Appian, *Iberica* 99) but must soon have returned, because there are archaeological remains from the first century BC; and *Contrebia Leucade*, which was destroyed in the mid-first century BC and virtually abandoned until the third century AD, when new troubles necessitated the reoccupation of hillforts (Hernández Vera 1982: 238). Such hilltop towns as *Uxama* (Figure 4.4) and *Nertobriga* seem to have been continuously occupied from Iron II to Roman. It is remarkable that the Romans permitted the castros of Central Spain to survive, in sharp contrast to what happened in other zones: Julius Caesar forced the inhabitants of Mons Herminius in Lusitania to live in the plain (Florus, 2.33), Augustus ordered the Asturians and Cantabrians to abandon their castros (Dio Cassius, 54.11.6), and re-settlement of Celts in the plains was standard policy in Gaul by the Augustan age (Crumley 1974: 47). Central Spain appears to have enjoyed a privilege dating back to Tiberius Gracchus, who as governor of Nearer Spain in 179 BC made treaties with various chiefdoms, obtaining their oaths of loyalty to Rome. The inhabitants were allowed to live in their old hillforts, though they were forbidden to build new ones (Appian, *Iberica* 43–4). The Celtiberian war of 153–133 ended the Gracchan peace, but the inhabitants' right to dwell in castros seems never to have been revoked. We even find a new Iron II hillslope settlement, at Langa (SO), being built in the mid-first century BC (M.V. Romero Carnicero 1992: 709). Of 291 Iron II hilltop settlements, fifty-five or 19 per cent continue into the Early Empire; of thirty-nine slope settlements, fifteen (38 per cent) continue, and of forty-six lowland settlements, twenty-one (46 per cent) continue.

In addition to these 122 continuing settlements, the Roman period also sees the construction of 39 new settlements which are not on Iron II sites; these form some 24 per cent of the total of 161 Roman-period settlements. The earliest recorded example may be the town near *Colenda* in which M. Marius settled various Celtiberians who had been allies of Rome against the Lusitanians in 102. While it is not explicitly stated that this was a new town, rather than expansion of an existing one, this seems likely for three reasons: the town seems to have no name; the settlement required approval

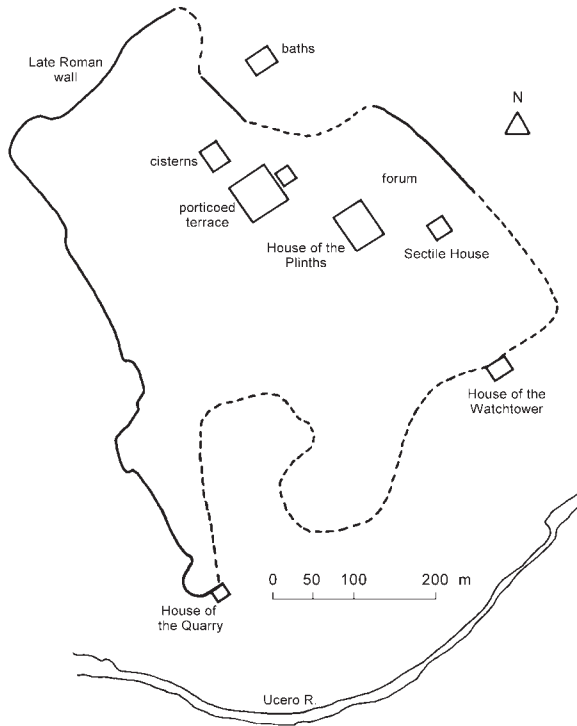


Figure 4.4 Plan of *Uxama* (after García Merino 1995).

by the Roman Senate; and *Colenda* itself was not chosen as the site. This settlement was unfortunately doomed to failure. Within five years the inhabitants had fallen into poverty and crime, apparently because of a lack of good farm-land, since Didius at first proposed to resolve the issue by giving them the land of *Colenda* (which he had recently captured and depopulated), then treacherously massacred them (Appian, *Iberica* 100). If *Centobriga* was founded by the Roman governor Appius Claudius Cento (175–174 BC) it was not a successful venture, because the town is not heard of after the Republic. *Valeria*, on the other hand, which may have been founded by the governor Valerius Flaccus (around 90 BC), was quite successful. Another Republican foundation was La Caridad (Caminreal, TE), built in the early first century BC on an orthogonal street plan (Sillières 2001: 177). Many *ex novo* settlements appear during the Early Empire. However, the number of new and continuing settlements fails to compensate for the widespread abandonment of Iron II sites. The much smaller number of settlements under the Empire (161, compared with 441 in Iron II), implies a redistribution of the population into fewer but larger centres. This appears to reflect the

known tendency for areas of increasing economic complexity to have larger population units and for smaller settlements to decline because they cannot compete with the larger ones (Blouet 1972: 12). But unlike Baetica and the east coast where cities were often located close together, Meseta cities were mostly spread far apart and had large territories, perhaps because of poorer soil and smaller population. Another phenomenon that may help account for the smaller number of settlements in the Roman period, despite a probable increase in population after the end of the Republican wars, is synoecism. This integrative process, through which a number of small settlements were united into a single political entity, can be seen at *Pisoraca*, as outlined above, and also at *Valeria* (Alföldy 1987b: 100). Even the synoecism of *Segeda* in 154 BC may have been influenced by Mediterranean models rather than being a natural development from the castro culture.

While most Roman settlements can easily be categorized as either new or continuing from Iron II, there are some uncertain cases. Ironically, these include many of the major cities. Whereas Augustus passed through an indigenous town *Segisama* en route to the Cantabrian war, the almost homonymous *Segisamo*, chief town of the Turmogi, has no convincing pre-Roman remains, and its location on a plain further suggests a Roman foundation. *Palantia* (Palencia), also located in the lowlands, appears to be another Roman settlement; the *Palantia* mentioned in Republican history must therefore be at a different site, almost certainly Palenzuela. *Clunia* and *Segobriga* are perched on hills, like Iron II sites, but have few pre-Roman remains. This has prompted speculation that the Iron II settlements with these names were located elsewhere. The site of pre-Roman *Clunia* has been sought at Alto de Cuerno, across the Arandilla river from the Roman city. Here has been found an Iron II settlement without subsequent Romanization, though it is unclear why the town would move from one hill to another (López Noriega 1997: 220). A similar problem exists at *Ercavica*, since the Roman city has no earlier remains. The pre-Roman town is possibly located at nearby La Muela (Alcocer, GU) (Lorrio 2001a: 127–33), though the *Ercavica* which is mentioned by Livy (40.50.1) and which issued Celtiberian coinage appears to be a different town, in the Ebro valley (Burillo 1998: 232–3). This would explain why Ptolemy (2.6.66) mentions an *Ercavica* among the Vascones. Some have supposed that pre-Roman *Segobriga*, attested during the war with Viriathus, was located at Fosos de Bayona (CU), and that the site was moved to Cabeza del Griego in Roman times; however, coin evidence favours identifying Fosos de Bayona with *Contrebia Carbica* (Mena Muñoz *et al.* 1988). The discovery of a fifth-century BC Attic amphora fragment at Cabeza del Griego has been seen as evidence for a pre-Roman settlement with a luxury-importing elite (Almagro-Gorbea 1992: 275–6; Lorrio 2001b); but frankly, one sherd hardly proves a settlement, and the fifth century is irrelevant to the *Segobriga* of the Viriathic war. It is possible that the pre-Roman levels at *Clunia* and *Segobriga* were

razed to make way for the forum and other public buildings. *Segovia* and *Toletum* are other major castros which should be the sites of the pre-Roman as well as the Roman towns, yet have yielded little Iron II material. Modern Tarazona (Z) is replete with Roman remains and is plausibly identified with *Turiaso*, yet lacks pre-Roman materials; the Celtiberian town that issued the *turiasu* coinage must therefore lie on an undetected site nearby.

Of the 27 new settlements of the Roman period for which details are available, fourteen (or 52 per cent) are sited on hilltops, two (or 7 per cent) on slopes, and eleven (or 41 per cent) on plains. That settlements were still being built on hills in time of peace, is perhaps a concession to the demands of tradition; one would rather have expected that Roman sites would be overwhelmingly found in the lowlands. The hilltop sites include *Bilbilis* (Figure 4.5), *Valeria* and *Arcobriga*. Though *Bilbilis* existed in pre-Roman times, some scholars believe it was not on the present site of Cerro de Bámbola near Calatayud (Z), but at Valdeherrera, nine kilometres to the south-east (Burillo and Ostale 1983–4: 288–93); this extensive site, in a strategic location, has major defensive works as well as abundant weapons

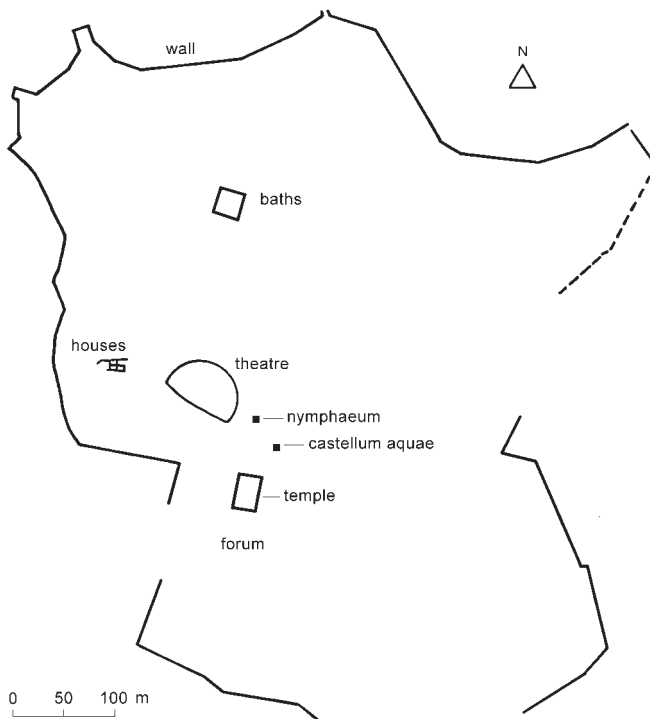


Figure 4.5 Plan of *Bilbilis* (after Martín Bueno 1975b).

(Millán Gil and Hernández Vera 1992: 25). Roman *Valeria*, at Valera de Arriba (CU), is some 5 kilometres north-west of its Celtiberian predecessor (Fuentes Domínguez 1991: 266 n. 2). The new foundations in the plain include *Augustobriga*, *Complutum*, and *Segontia*. The last two of these occupied a different, higher site in the pre-Roman period. Though Celtiberian coins have been found at *Augustobriga*, they may represent residual circulation rather than a pre-Roman town.

Many of the smaller Roman settlements probably qualify as *vici*, villages in the territory of a city. Some of these perpetuate small settlements of the Iron II period, which were always satellites of a larger centre. So too, perhaps, are such otherwise unattested places as *Boterdum* and *Plataea*, named by Martial (12.18) among the sites near *Bilbilis*. Some of the more obscure places named in the Antonine Itinerary may be *vici*; indeed one of them, located between *Laminium* and *Toletum*, is named *Vicus Cuminarius* (Itin. Ant., 445.6). An inscription from Peralejo de los Escuderos (SO) records friendship between the people of *Termes* and the *Dercinoassedenses*, described as *vicani Cluniensium*, i.e. residents of a *vicus* attributed to *Clunia* (AE 1953, 267). A series of places (mostly ending in *-benda*) named on a bronze *delimitatio* tablet from Fuentes de Ropel (ZA) are possibly *vici* (AE 1993, 1035). As I have shown elsewhere (Curchin 1985), rural *vici* are found almost exclusively in the 'Celtic' areas of Spain (Meseta, Galicia, Lusitania), representing the lowest rung in the hierarchy of agglomerated settlements.

The pattern of Roman settlement is shown in Figure 4.6. The settlement density is much lower than in Iron II: one site per 1,000 square kilometres. The cities thus formed what Woolf (1998: 38) has termed 'islands of urbanism' in a rural landscape. In the Middle Duero, settlements continue to be more numerous north of the Duero because of the nature of the soil, as explained above, though there is no longer a need for elevated sites. Likewise, northern Soria (territory of the Pelendones) is more sparsely settled than southern Soria (territory of the Arevaci) because of better soils and less forest (García Merino 1975: 324). Whereas the steep left bank of the river Cea (rising as much as 40 metres above the river plain) was a home to Iron II settlements, the Roman ones tend to be sited on the lower, right bank (Mañanes 1979: 51). This movement to the more favourable bank is a phenomenon paralleled in other cultures (Flannery 1976: 174). River towns could function as either ports or crossing places; numerous Roman bridges attest to the latter function. As in the Iron II period, we find various kinds of hierarchies, which often overlap. Thus *Clunia*, as capital of its *conventus*, was not only the administrative centre of the northern Meseta, but also its religious centre. The Imperial cult functioned at three levels (local, conventual, and provincial), but the last of these was based at *Tarraco* on the Mediterranean shore, so the *conventus* of *Clunia* dominated the religious hierarchy within the northern Meseta. *Clunia* probably also headed the economic hierarchy of the region, as suggested by its important road and

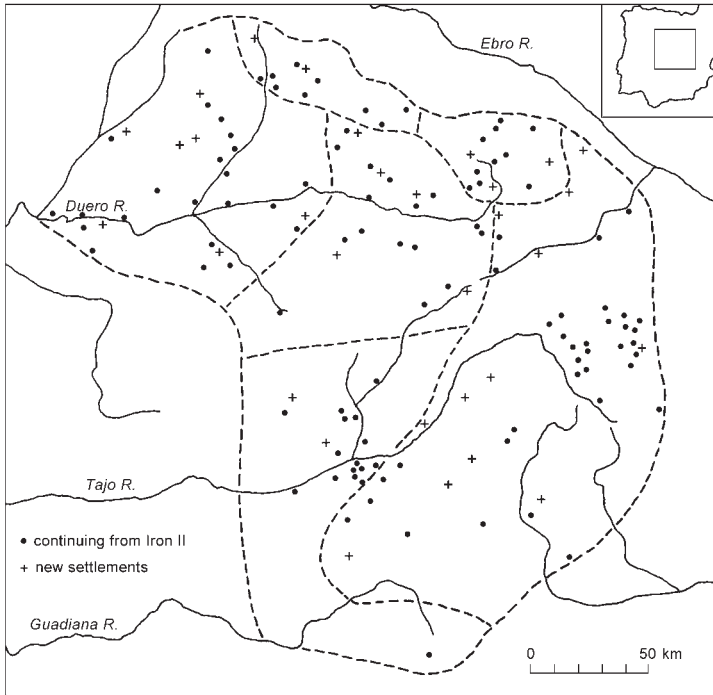


Figure 4.6 Distribution of Roman-period settlements in Central Spain.

river links and the large number of persons from other towns attested in its epigraphy. In the less populous south, the situation was more awkward, since administration, cult and commerce were vested in the coastal city of *Carthago Nova*.

Despite the *pax Romana* and the construction of Roman roads, Central Spain lacked the Roman colonization that we see in eastern *Tarraconensis*, *Baetica* and *Lusitania*. This may be due in part to the 'black legend' about Celtiberia, reflected in our sources for the wars of conquest: the myth of poor soil, hostile inhabitants, harsh climate, and generally unlivable conditions (Balil 1977: 90). Moreover, colonists from Italy preferred not to settle in areas higher than 500 metres above sea level, since these tended to have a 'continental' climate, very unlike the subtropical Mediterranean environment to which the settlers were accustomed (Knapp 1984: 221). Politics could also have played a role, for Caesar and Augustus may have been reluctant to grant colonial status to towns in a region that had supported Pompey in the civil war. In terms of size, Roman cities in the Meseta are not significantly larger than the larger settlements of the preceding period: *Clunia* 36 hectares, *Uxama* 55, *Termes* about 60, *Valeria* 27, *Bilbilis* more than 20.

Being fewer and farther apart, the Roman cities controlled much larger territories than the 400-plus towns of the earlier period. These territories included agricultural and pastoral zones, as well as mining and marginal zones, which provided revenues (*vectigalia*) to the cities. As in the pre-Roman period, the limits (*fines*) of each city's territory were well known to the locals. An epitaph from Trévago (SO) records that the deceased, a native of *Augustobriga*, died at the boundary of the community of *Arcobriga* ('obit fine Arcobrigensium') (Jimeno 1980: no. 115, wrongly reading 'aug(uri)' for 'Aug(ustobrigensi)'). Chapter 76 of the Flavian municipal law obliges local magistrates to inspect the *fines*, fields and *vectigalia* annually.

The choice of site reflects changing priorities: pre-Roman siting stresses defensibility, Roman siting stresses access to communications. Those settlements that were not abandoned had to adapt to these changing priorities. The construction of roads linking the villages greatly facilitated settlement survival; so did the 'downward shift' of Iron II sites to the foot of the hill. Synchronic differences in settlement patterns between districts often reflect availability of water and other resources; mountains or sandy soils, ill suited to agriculture, were unlikely to attract much settlement. For this reason, even within the same chiefdom, settlement patterns can vary on either side of a mountain range or river.

Urban expansion

Roman cities presented a uniform set of symbols and a similar layout, such that a newcomer to a city would easily be able to find the forum and other main facilities (Laurence 1994: 135). While the popular correlation of urbanism with civilization is perhaps an oversimplification, the creation of cities was one of the most important and lasting achievements of the classical world. In some parts of the world, notably the Hellenistic east, cities already existed before the Romans arrived. On the south and east coasts of Spain, Phoenician and Greek colonies provided urban models that were copied, with varying degrees of success, by their Iberian neighbours. In the centre of the Peninsula, however, there were no such exemplars, though rulers and traders must at least have been aware of the existence of cities on the coast. Thus cities evolved only gradually (Keay 2001: 126). Nonetheless, some of the pre-Roman settlements in the Meseta were of considerable size and complexity. The question arises, to what extent was Central Spain urbanized prior to the Roman conquest?

As already mentioned, ancient writers are inconsistent in the terms they use to characterize indigenous settlements. Livy (35.7.6, 35.22.5) labels *Toletum* as *parva urbs* ('small city'), but also as *oppidum* ('town'). Pliny describes *Clunia* and five other Arevacan towns as *oppida*, even though they were Roman cities by his day. Greek writers are no more accurate. Posidonius (in Strabo, 3.4.13) ridiculed Polybius' claim that Tiberius Gracchus

destroyed 300 cities (*poleis*) in Celtiberia, yet Appian (*Iberica* 44, 46) refers to *Numantia* as a *polis*, and notes that Gracchus forbade the Celtiberians to build any new *poleis*. Pausanias (10.4.1) hesitates to 'give the name *polis* to people who do not have government buildings, gymnasium, theatre, forum, or water delivered to a fountain, but live in empty hovels very much like mountain cabins, on the edge of a ravine.' The question of whether the Meseta towns are to be regarded as cities, ultimately depends on our definition of 'city'. Specifically, what are the determinants of urbanism? Size alone is not sufficient: the La Tène settlement of Manching, with a walled area of 380 hectares, is considered an *oppidum*, yet the city of Paris in the thirteenth century covered only 253 hectares (Audouze and Buchsensschutz 1989: 307–8). Population is another possible criterion, but this requires either an arbitrary numerical qualification (such as 5,000 or 10,000 inhabitants as the minimum for a city), or a subjective decision as to which towns are relatively more populous than others and hence deserve to be considered cities. It also requires reliable population figures, which for the pre-Roman Meseta are lacking. In place of the classic but outdated definitions of the city offered by such pioneers as Max Weber and Gordon Childe (reviewed by Carter 1983: 2–3), recent studies suggest different sets of urban prerequisites. For Fear (1996: 7) the city must have substantial public buildings, an independent political structure, and a community life including religion and leisure. This definition would exclude the Celtiberian towns, which had no public buildings and were nested in a hierarchy of chiefdoms. Mersch (1997: 45) opines that a city must have a concentrated population, social differentiation, craft specialization and regional importance. The Iron II centres certainly had a social hierarchy, rudimentary job specialization (potters, for instance), and some of them were important, but again we falter on the question of population. Vink (1997: 116–17) interestingly characterizes a city as, *inter alia*, a large settlement whose inhabitants do not all know each other and are largely engaged in pursuits other than farming. Vink's unusual, people-based criteria are probably valid, but cannot be tested in the Iron Age Meseta. Nonetheless, they are a healthy reminder that the city is a living form of human activity and should not be reified as a collection of buildings or symbols.

Since even the ancient sources have trouble distinguishing cities from towns, we are unlikely to reach a definitive solution. (The use of such terms as 'proto-urban' merely confuses the issue.) What we can do is investigate the origin and characteristics of the indigenous towns of Central Spain, and what changes occurred under Roman rule. As has already been shown, the commonest pre-Roman settlement was the castro or hilltop village, usually smaller than one hectare in area. These villages had an economy based on farming or herding in the surrounding plain, but the threat of attack obliged the populace to inhabit and artificially fortify the crest of a hill. However, larger fortified centres – sometimes much larger – sprang up in the third and

second centuries BC. The emergence of these centres, which can rightly be considered towns, is probably attributable to increasing social complexity and the organizational demands of long-range trade (Jones 1987b: 47; Burillo 1991a: 39). These major communities – *oppida*, as opposed to the Celtiberian *vici* and *castellae* mentioned by Livy (40.33) – were not only larger than the villages but more powerful, controlling a wide territory and dominating an administrative hierarchy of smaller sites (Almagro-Gorbea 1994: 26). They generally have more elaborate defences (such as multiple circuit walls), parallel streets paved in stone, and houses built close together, though the *oppida* of the Vaccaei and Carpetani include isolated homes and open spaces (Almagro-Gorbea 1994: 37). Craft specialization is indicated by an abundance of wheel-made pottery, produced in kiln complexes such as the third-century example excavated at Coca (chapter 7), and of weapons, using an iron-working technology whose products drew Roman admiration. By the time of the Celtiberian wars (153–133 BC) these towns had local senates (*presbyteroi*: Diodorus Siculus, 31.39; Appian, *Iberica* 52–4, 94), and some were minting their own coins. Against these indicators of incipient urbanism – most of them inspired, no doubt, by contacts with the Iberians of the Mediterranean coast and Ebro valley – must be noted the absence of forums, temples, aqueducts and differentiated homes for the elite; and, as in Pausanias' example, some of the houses (even in the Roman period) perch on the edge of ravines. This may be contrasted with the more rapid urbanization of the Ebro valley, as shown by the presence of a monumental building with columns at *Contrebia Belaisca* (Botorrita, Z), a city abandoned during the Sertorian war. *Numantia*, one of the most fully excavated Celtiberian towns, has paved streets and three-roomed houses with cellars, but no public buildings or meeting places; indeed, the town paints a picture of great poverty and spartan living conditions (Schulten 1933: 142). In brief, the *oppida* of the Meseta, while presenting some urban features, cannot be considered cities in any real sense. Though some are very large, they lack the degree of urbanism found in Iberian towns half their size (Woolf 1993b: 231–2; Almagro-Gorbea 1994: 34).

True urbanization, and with it an urban society, would have to await the Roman conquest. If Gracchus forbade the Celtiberians to build new cities, it was because he did not want more hillforts to besiege (Appian, *Iberica* 44; Fear 1996: 21). But once the wars were over, the security of the *pax Romana* made it unnecessary for people to seek the shelter of hillforts; as discussed above, many (though not all) settlements shifted to more convenient locations in the plains. A flat landscape facilitated the construction of forums and the layout of a street grid, though these features could be imposed even on hilly sites like *Uxama*, *Valeria* or *Termes* (Figure 4.7). Of course, urbanization involved not only the erection of public buildings, but the establishment of the political, administrative and legal infrastructure necessary to govern a city, provide essential services and collect taxes. In privileged cities



Figure 4.7 Forum at *Termes*.

at least, local magistrates were chosen annually by popular election (a democratic mechanism, except that only the well-to-do could be candidates), exercising jurisdiction over civil cases and responsibility for tax collection and public works (Curchin 1990: 37–9, 60–3). The city also served social, economic, and religious functions. It provided opportunities for shopping, bathing, entertainment, and social interaction. Food grown in its territory was exchanged for goods manufactured in the city. The wealth of the elite, derived primarily from agriculture, was redistributed through benefactions to their cities and the construction of elegant town houses. Rivers and the Roman road network facilitated commerce between cities, while increased construction and manufacturing produced an intensification of labour and created new kinds of jobs for slaves or hired workers. After a theatre or street was built, someone had to maintain it; after goods were produced, someone had to store and sell them. Though urban commerce and industry were never as important as agriculture, they were markedly more important than previously. However, the market role of the city remained limited: since ancient cities were ‘consumer cities’ rather than ‘producer cities’, the production and marketing of surplus commodities frequently took place in rural venues (Laurence 1994: 9; Whittaker 1995: 20–2). Today’s separation of church and state was unknown; the urban elite held priesthoods, built

temples, and sent delegates to the *conventus* capital to participate in the activities of the Imperial cult (Bonneville *et al.* 1982: 19). The whole city participated in religious ceremonies and the ever-popular festivals. Roman cities also fulfilled an ideological purpose, implanting in the minds of the inhabitants the ideals of citizenship, a 'civilized' lifestyle, and belonging to the greatest empire the world had known. Urbanization thus fostered the integration of indigenous communities into the power structure of the Roman empire (Keay 2001: 106). The benefits of urbanization came, however, at a price. Taxation was never popular, and cities had to cope with such urban problems as water supply and garbage disposal.

Eventually, many cities of Central Spain were granted the privileged status of *municipia*, autonomous communities, of which two types existed. Those whose inhabitants enjoyed full Roman citizenship are listed by Pliny as *oppida* (less often *municipia*) *civium Romanorum*. In those with *ius Latii* (the 'right of Latium'), the inhabitants became Latin citizens, while the local magistrates earned full Roman citizenship for themselves and their families upon completing their year in office. This promise of Roman citizenship channelled the energies of the elite into pursuing elected office (Roldán Hervás 1982: 115). Municipal status and *ius Latii* may be detected in several ways: the city may actually be called *municipium* in an inscription (or *res publica*, which also indicates a privileged town); it may have magistrates (*duoviri*, *quattuorviri* or *aediles*) and a municipal senate (*ordo decurionum*); there may be priests (*flamines*) or officials (*seviri Augustales*) of the Imperial cult; or its elite may be Roman citizens, as shown not only by the *tria nomina* (which may suggest but does not guarantee citizenship) but by mention of the Roman voting tribe Galeria or Quirina, indicating a citizenship grant under the Julio-Claudians or Flavians, respectively (Alföldy 1987b: 27–30). We know from Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 3.24–5) and from Augustan coins that *Bilbilis* and *Turiaso* were *oppida civium Romanorum*, while *Ercavica* and *Valeria* had *ius Latii*. The tribe Galeria suggests that *Alaba*, *Clunia*, *Segobriga*, *Termes* and *Uxama* were also Augustan *municipia*. Significantly, all these cities are in the eastern Meseta, reflecting the early Romanization of the Arevaci and Celtiberi. Flavian municipalities, shown by the tribe Quirina, include *Complutum*, *Intercatia*, *Mantua*, *Numantia*, *Ocelodurum*, *Ocilis*, *Palantia* and *Segontia* (Wiegels 1985; Mangas 1996). A fragment of a municipal law from Duratón (SG) suggests the existence of a Flavian *municipium* there (Hoyo 1995). Though its ancient name is unknown – Ptolemy's *Confluenta* has been suggested – Duratón occupied more than fifty hectares, had buildings on a regular plan, and may have been as important as *Segovia* (Galindo 2002). *Augustobriga* ('Emperor-town') and *Consabura* received the title *municipium* at an unknown date (Alföldy 1975: nos. 271, 352). *Cauca* and *Toletum* must also be privileged towns, since the former has *senatus populusque* and a *duovir* with *tria nomina* (AE 1988, 764), while the latter has *decuriones*, *seviri* and the title *res publica* (CIL II, 3037; AE 1986, 428). A togate statue from *Saldania*

(Ptolemy's *Eldana*), presumably of a local magistrate who received Roman citizenship, may also imply municipal status (Fernández Noguera 1946: 116; cf. Curchin 1996b). The status of the Arevacan town of *Segovia* remains unclear. Under Augustus it issued coins with the legend C.L. (Figure 7.2 a), which possibly stands for 'c(ives) L(atini)', though the tribe Galeria is not recorded here; attempts to restore the tribal designation Quirina (CIL II, 5783; HEp 4, 613) or the title *municipium Flavium* (AE 1992, 1034) on its inscriptions are very uncertain. Future epigraphic discoveries may allow us to add other Roman cities, such as *Arcobriga*, *Nertobriga*, *Rauda*, and *Septimanca*, to the list of privileged towns. At the Romanized hill town of Villavieja de Muñó (BU), the most important site in the Arlanzón valley (Abásolo 1975: 158), has been found the tile stamp MVN ARCIA, perhaps referring to an otherwise unknown *municipium*, though the possibility of a potter named Munatia Arcia cannot be discounted (Liz Callejo 1974: 124; Abásolo and Ruiz Velez 1977: 84). While it may seem unlikely that a town with municipal privilege would escape mention in the literary sources, it should be remembered that the *Lex Iruitana*, the best preserved municipal law in Spain, comes from an otherwise unattested Baetican *municipium*. San Esteban de Gormaz (SO) has also been proposed as a *municipium* on the basis of inscriptions mentioning the tribes Galeria and Quirina (Abascal 1984–5), but these inscriptions may have been removed from nearby *Uxama*.

To judge from the datable municipal grants, the urbanization of the Meseta was achieved in a single century, from Augustus in the last years BC to Vespasian in the 70s AD (Alföldy 1987b: 118). It was thus a relatively rapid process, though far behind what had already occurred in Baetica and the east coast. The major cities of Central Spain (Figure 4.8) were nearly all built on hills, after the indigenous fashion, and most bear pre-Roman toponyms, though in some cases they are not on the original site. In some cases (such as *Complutum*, with its elegant housing and mosaics) the town made a successful move from hilltop to plain; but most of the 'new' cities in the lowlands seem not to have had a very flourishing life (Balil 1974: 63). The status of *Bilbilis* and *Turiaso* as *oppida civium Romanorum* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.24) is interesting, since full Roman citizenship was normally given only to communities containing a substantial number of Italian immigrants (Sherwin White 1973: 225, 237), though it is possible that an exception to this principle was made to reward these two cities for their loyalty during the Celtiberian wars. Otherwise, there was no extensive influx of Italian immigrants to the Meseta, so even the 'new' cities were populated by indigenes from the surrounding territory, and eventually received the municipal status appropriate to indigenous communities. The fact that the number of settlements dwindles by more than 70 per cent between the second century BC and first century AD shows the effectiveness of the Roman cities in attracting people who had hitherto inhabited remote castros. This evidently successful urbanization is all the more surprising in our region, given its isolation, rugged landscape,

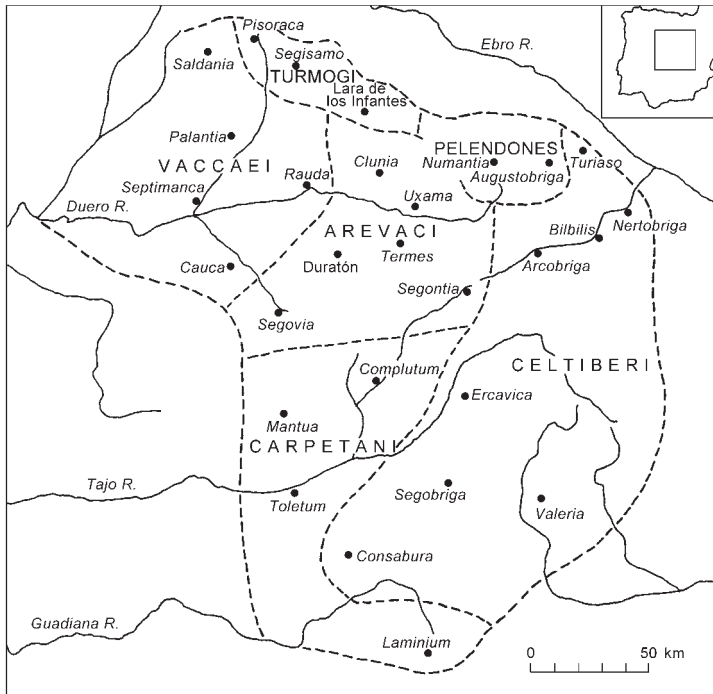


Figure 4.8 Roman cities in Central Spain.

generally poor economy, and history of resistance to the Romans. Urbanism had profound repercussions on local landscape and culture. Towns which had previously lacked public buildings are now bedecked with a full range of monumental architecture. In keeping with the 'symbolic code' for all Roman cities, facilities for shopping, bathing, local government and legal administration make their appearance, and a street grid extends from the central forum into the residential quarters. Fresh water was provided by aqueducts feeding a municipal reservoir (*castellum aquae*) such as the prominent example at *Termes*. Shows, ceremonies and the other trappings of urban life had great popular appeal and made the inhabitants eager for civic institutions (Duncan-Jones 1990: 159). The abundant epigraphy of cities like *Clunia* and *Segobriga*, and the wide range of Roman artifacts and luxury items on many sites, show that the oppidans had embraced Roman values and a sophisticated lifestyle. However, it would be excessive to claim that these cities had become a copy of Rome ('ein Abbild Roms': Alföldy 1987b: 104). The adoption of Roman institutions was always tempered and influenced by indigenous tradition, creating cities that were not faithful microcosms of Rome, but provincial variants of the Roman model.

Was urbanization a result of Roman policy, or of local initiative? Urbanism was consonant with the Roman objective of pacification, channelling the energy of the indigenes into civic projects instead of revolt. While each city contained a forum and public buildings, their arrangement varies greatly from place to place, showing that town planning was in the hands of local politicians. Although the hilly terrain of many sites imposed serious constraints on street grids and forum layout, problems could be overcome through consultation with experts. Pliny's letters to Trajan contain repeated pleas for architects, surveyors and engineers to assist in municipal projects, as well as requests for advice on the construction of public buildings. In the second century, the Mauretanian town of *Saldae* asked Roman military authorities for an engineer to rectify a troublesome aqueduct tunnel (*CIL* VIII, 2728; translation in Elton 1996: 70). The hand of military engineers has been suspected in the planning not only of major Spanish cities like *Augusta Emerita* and *Caesaraugusta*, but even small ones like *Conimbriga* and *Ebora* (Mierse 1999: 120). However, the role of the army has probably been overestimated: military engineers would have no experience in designing a forum, temple or circus. In any case, we have no surviving evidence for gubernatorial or imperial intervention in the urbanization of Central Spain. It is difficult to believe that such great works as the double-decker aqueduct at *Segovia* were built without outside help. Architects and engineers must have been brought in to transform the hill towns into Roman cities, yet this could have been done at the expense of the local elite. Cities certainly facilitated administration, and they were easier to keep under observation than the more numerous castros of an earlier day. There is no proof that the Roman government provided either financial aid or soldiers to build the new cities, or indeed that it had a pragmatic policy on urbanization. It is preferable to suppose that local elites spontaneously competed with one another to Romanize and monumentalize their communities. However, Rome did provide powerful incentives for urbanization, in the political autonomy and citizenship rights that accompanied the granting of municipal status.

Municipal government

The Roman literary portrayal of the inhabitants of Central Spain as wild barbarians (chapter 3) would lead one to suppose that they had neither government nor legal institutions. In fact, while we know little about Celtiberian law, there is ample evidence that the pre-Roman towns had a standard system of internal government. Each was controlled by a senate of local elders (*presbyteroi* in Greek); such senates are recorded at *Segeda* in 153 BC, *Cauca* in 151, *Lutia* in 133 and *Belgeda* in 92. Unfortunately for internal unity, the conciliatory policies of these elders were sometimes at variance with the desire of the younger, hotter-headed citizens. The conflict between the town fathers and 'restless youth' manifested itself in different ways. At

Lutia, the young men wanted to send aid to *Numantia*, but the senate denounced them to Scipio. The people of *Belgeda*, eager for war, roasted the senators alive for hesitating (Appian, *Iberica* 94, 100). When the elders of *Meoriga*, disregarding the martial fervour of the youths and women, decided to make peace with Pompey in 75 BC, their orders were disobeyed and they were stripped of their weapons and even the rights of men (Sallust, *Historiae* 2.92). In terms of law, if it may so be called, Strabo (3.3.7) claims that the mountaineers stone criminals or hurl them from cliffs. A painted vase from *Termes* shows a man suspended by his arms and being pecked at by birds; this perhaps represents a form of capital punishment (García Quintela 1997), unless it depicts a distorted version of the Prometheus myth.

The senates may have been presided over by a chief, or by magistrates chosen from the local elite; however, these are mentioned but once. In 137 BC Tiberius Gracchus, serving as quaestor to Mancinus, negotiated with the magistrates (*archontes*) of *Numantia* for the return of his ledgers which he had lost when the Numantines captured the Roman camp (Plutarch, *Ti. Gracchus*, 6.2). Local coinage in the last two centuries BC was presumably issued by authority of town senates, though it is unclear whether the legend S(ENATUS) C(ONSULTO) on coins of *Toletum* refers to a local body or the Roman Senate. Public acts such as treaties and grants of hospitality would also have been approved by local senates, though senates and magistrates are not explicitly mentioned on hospitality documents until the time of Augustus (*CIL* II, 5763; *AE* 1967, 239). Towns also had an assembly (*ekklesia*), presumably comprising all adult males, which could decide on important matters affecting the community. In 154 BC, the assembly of *Segeda* approved a motion to reject a Roman demand that the town cease enlarging its walled area. In times of emergency, an assembly of an entire chiefdom could be convened. An assembly of the Arevaci in 153 BC resolved to make war on Rome, and elected military leaders (Diodorus Siculus, 31.39, 31.42; Appian, *Iberica* 45–6; cf. Prieto Arciniega 1977: 341).

Envoys, frequently mentioned in accounts of the conquest, also seem to have been chosen by the popular assembly rather than the elders. Thus in 179 BC it was the people (*oppidani*) of *Alce*, a Carpetanian town, who sent an embassy to the Romans (Livy, 40.49.4), and it was the people of beleaguered *Numantia* who assassinated their own envoys when it was rumoured that they were arranging safe conduct for themselves with the Romans (Appian, *Iberica* 95). The *duces*, *reguli* and other leaders mentioned in classical sources, invariably in the context of wars, may likewise have been selected by a public assembly. What was lacking in the local governmental structure was a bureaucracy; this is totally in keeping with the usual model of chiefdoms as non-bureaucratic (A.W. Johnson and Earle 2000: 248).

The Roman system of local government, based on a senate and magistrates, was not radically different in principle from what the Celtiberians already had. However, when a town was granted the status of *municipium*, the

composition and duties of its governing body were more formally defined. The *ordo decurionum* was a body of fixed size, though this size varied from town to town. It was both an elite group, with a property qualification for admission, and an undemocratic one, since new members were co-opted by the existing ones, without reference to the people. The magistrates, on the other hand, were chosen by popular election. They included two *duoviri* who presided over the senate and could adjudicate civil lawsuits; two aediles whose main responsibility was public works; and in the larger cities, a pair of quaestors who collected and allocated public funds. In fact, no local quaestors are attested in Central Spain. The pairs of *duoviri* and aediles are sometimes referred to collectively as *quattuorviri*, abbreviated on coins and inscriptions as IIIIVIRI. The magistrates' term was limited to one year, and their power was tempered by clearly defined responsibilities. The *municipia* operated, or professed to operate, under Roman law (Gardner 1993: 188–9), though in unincorporated towns international law (*ius gentium*) still applied. The cities controlled their own finances, but paid taxes to Rome. That this system could lead to abuses is shown by the example of *Termes*, which in AD 25 was ordered to reimburse the Roman government for funds it had embezzled (Tacitus, *Annals* 4.45). But such malfeasance was probably rare.

Conclusions

The diffusion of urbanism helped integrate Central Spain into the social and administrative fabric of Hispania Citerior. An abundance of archaeological evidence enables us to reconstruct much of the occupational history of the region. The pre-Roman Meseta was a village culture, consisting of a hierarchy of hill-forts clustered along the principal watercourses. Most settlements were quite small, often encompassing less than one hectare, and may be considered rural hamlets rather than towns. Only a few settlements, with an area exceeding ten hectares, can be called *oppida*. By the end of the Republic most of the Iron II villages had been destroyed or abandoned, while increasing social and economic complexity was producing a need for major administrative centres with centralized resources. These new cities, fewer in number and spaced further apart than the old settlements, were able to control and service much larger territories, which in turn supplied the cities with such necessities as food and wool. Yet towns of pre-Roman origin played an important role in the transition to urbanism, since three-quarters of the known Roman-period settlements continued from Iron II. Although the inhabitants of some hill-forts moved down to the plain, many of the new settlements were built on hilltops in the indigenous tradition, despite the lack of need for defence.

While some pre-Roman *oppida* might be called 'proto-urban', true cities were a product of the Early Empire. Urbanization began in earnest under Augustus, who gave municipal rights to several cities of the Arevaci and

Celtiberi, and reached a climax under Vespasian, who extended this status to many other cities. These *municipia* are characterized by a forum, monumental architecture, highly developed civic administration, and a relatively complex economy. They were set up similar to Italian cities, with elected magistrates who sought social and political advancement through office holding and donation of costly buildings. Roman law and municipal regulations were introduced, turning an indigenous town into a community of Roman and Latin citizens who enjoyed urban amenities and lifestyles. Town planning provided a rational restructuring of space within the restraints of local topography.

Urbanism in Central Spain appears to represent a middle ground between the large, rich cities of Baetica or the east coast, and the low level of urbanization in Galicia, Cantabria and the Basque country. That impression is deceptive, because recent work has shown that some Baetican cities were built on the sites of indigenous hillforts, and that settlement patterns were affected by Iron Age precedents (Downs 1998). Although the Meseta had no city that could compare in size or splendour with *Tarraco*, *Corduba*, or the Lusitanian capital *Augusta Emerita* (Curchin 1991: 106–14), its cities were certainly bigger and more sophisticated than anything that had existed in Central Spain previously. The success of urbanization is reflected in the fact that several Roman cities in the region (*Toletum*, *Segovia*, *Palantia*) are still provincial capitals today.

THE CHANGING COUNTRYSIDE

Where the city ends, the desert begins.

(Castilian proverb)

There are no better civilizers than roads.

(Lord Roberts)

Although Roman civilization is often, and with some justification, associated with urbanism, it must be remembered that the vast majority of the population – at least 90 per cent according to various estimates – was rural (Hopkins 1978a: 75–6; Woolf 1998: 138). It has sometimes been claimed that Romanization had little impact on the countryside, which evolved without interruption from Neolithic to modern times (Dolç 1950: 45; Wells 1984: 10; Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1989: 9). This chapter will argue, on the contrary, that Romanization had profound effects, in terms of rural organization, intensification of agriculture, improved technology, and communications. While we have little information on rural life, in terms of the daily routine and leisure activities of country folk, or the division of labour between slaves, hired hands, and family members, there is a large quantity of data on the infrastructure of the agrarian economy and how the landscape was transformed after the Roman conquest. We shall also examine the creation and importance of roads and other forms of communication in the Romanization of the Meseta.

Vici, villas and farms

Agriculturalists in pre-Roman times were subject to not only the usual hazards of farming – drought, crop disease, insects, birds and wild animals – but the ravages of war. The Roman peace provided greater stability, yet the prosperity of many farms remained modest. In much of the Meseta, with its poor soil and low rainfall, farmers would have had a ‘closed’ economy, basically feeding and clothing themselves, with little surplus to exchange.

Roman coins found in Madrid province, for example, are nearly all of bronze, a medium of small payments and low-value transactions appropriate to a rural subsistence economy (Balil 1987: 157). Drought or a bad harvest would decrease the food supply and increase prices: an inscription from *Clunia* mentions an occasion when grain price was expensive, necessitating benevolent intervention by a local priest (*CIL* II, 2782). While not eliminating the risks of farming, the Roman government had a generally positive impact on rural life. Unlike some other regions, there was no expropriation of land in Central Spain for redistribution to Italian colonists. Moreover, from Republican times until the recall of the Fourth Legion in the Julio-Claudian period, the Meseta housed military garrisons that created a demand for agricultural products, especially cereals; these might be confiscated in time of war, or demanded as indemnity after a revolt (Livy, 29.3.5; Appian, *Iberica* 73, 87), but in peacetime they were normally paid for, thereby stimulating the local economy (Livy, 43.2.12; cf. Mackie 1983: 155; Curchin 1991: 61). Since the annual grain ration amounted to about 340 kilograms per man (Goldsmith 1984: 266), a legion would consume well over a million kilograms. The army also constructed a network of roads, which facilitated the transportation of produce to market. Another pragmatic concern of the Roman administration was land surveying. A system of centuriation, co-ordinated with the road system, was used to regulate the allocation of the landscape. Determining property lines was essential to calculating land holdings for the purpose of taxation. The technical writer Julius Frontinus (*De agrorum qualitate* p. 2) cites *Palantia* as an example of a town in Hispania Citerior whose lands have been surveyed. Since *Palantia* was not on a recorded road, centuriation seems to have penetrated even into remote areas of the Meseta, altering the landscape. The introduction of Roman property law, with its procedures regulating rentals and land disputes, further transformed the rural scene (Woolf 1998: 143).

It must be remembered that nearly all land, whether cultivable (*ager*) or marginal (*saltus*), was in the territory of a particular city. The exceptions were land belonging to the emperor (for which there is no evidence in our region) and land belonging to the army. Boundary stones of the *Legio IV Macedonica* between *Segisamo* and *Pisoraca* mark the *prata* or grazing-lands that produced the soldiers' meat supply. A civilian boundary stone from Colmenar Viejo (M), inscribed 'ter(minus) Aug(ustalis)', possibly marks the western limit of the territory of *Complutum* (Knapp 1992: no. 175; Alföldy 1987b: 63). The designation *Augustalis* may refer to an official survey under imperial authority to fix the boundaries between towns. Also within each city's territory were numerous small villages called *vici*. This is because ancient farmers, like modern ones, often did not live on the land, but commuted on foot from nearby settlements. In the sixteenth century, over 80 per cent of the population of Central Spain lived in farming villages (MacMullen 1974: 22; Lloyd 1991: 238; Vassberg 1984: 1). In terms of spacing, geographers have shown

that the exploitation zones of rural communities have a maximum radius of five kilometres, in other words, one hour's walk (Clarke 1978: 125); indeed, in the Tierra de Campos in the thirteenth century, each settlement had an average territory of sixteen square kilometres, which would mean a radius of less than three kilometres (García de Cortázar 1988: 179–80). Therefore, while Roman cities might control large territories, their agrarian economy depended on a network of *vici*, enabling farmers to live close to their fields.

In theory, all conquered territory belonged to Rome. In practice, individuals or families occupied the arable land, either as owners (*possessores*) or tenants (*coloni*). The former may seem the more desirable status, but history has shown that peasants often own inferior land and are oppressed by debt payments as well as property taxes, while many tenants work choice soils and pay a modest rent (Vassberg 1984: 120). Each town's territory would originally have been farmed by its own citizens; but since Roman law permitted the sale of land to others, plots passed into the hands of resident aliens (*incolae*). M. Messius Abascantus of *Segontia*, buried on riverside farmland in the territory of *Complutum*, is a probable example of a such an *incola* (AE 1987, 635; cf. Haley 1991: 86–7). Eventually, land purchase led to the accumulation of large private estates. These estates are known in Italy as *latifundia*, but this term usually denotes plantations worked by large numbers of slaves, and is inappropriate in our region, where slave labour was not massive and greater reliance was placed on a non-slave workforce: hired hands, including day-labourers during peak periods, and tenant farmers (Curchin 1986b: 180–1). While subsistence farmers often exhaust the soil in their efforts to increase production, the large landowner can afford to leave some of his fields unsown. This practice is especially important in the arid Meseta, where a high proportion of the land must lie fallow each year to replace its moisture content (Delano Smith 1979: 56–7). If animals graze on the weeds in fallow fields, their manure will further enrich the soil (Morley 1996: 120). Large-scale irrigation could be effected through the construction of dams, such as those found in conjunction with several villas (of which at least one dates back to the first century AD) in Toledo province (Caballero and Sánchez-Palencia 1983). Roman technology added new tools to the farmer's inventory, such as hoes, pitchforks, shovels and pruning hooks (Manrique Mayor 1980: 137–62; Vicente Redón *et al.* 1986: 11).

The ultimate expression of Romanized agriculture is the villa estate. A villa is a country residence, which according to Varro (*De re rustica* 3.1.10, 3.2.5, 3.2.10) might be lavishly decorated with mosaics, paintings and statues, or merely a serviceable farm-house. The villa was intimately connected with the surrounding farm (*fundus*); the elder Cato (*De agricultura* 1.4.8) advises, 'let not the villa want a farm, nor the farm a villa'. The agronomist Columella (1.6) defines the villa as a tripartite structure, consisting of the owner's residence (*pars urbana*) with bedrooms, dining rooms and baths, farmhands' quarters (*pars rustica*) for hired workers and slaves, and a

produce area (*villa fructuaria*) where grain, oil and wine are processed and stored. However, this theoretical division does not apply in practice, since tools and commercial storage areas are often found in the owner's house, and his peristyle garden may have been used for saleable vegetables rather than flowers (Ellis 2000: 107). Villas typically controlled large estates, making possible a level of exploitation, surplus and profit unknown in earlier times. Their lavish decoration represented conspicuous consumption and display of wealth by the owner, while their spacious setting permitted a more expansive architecture than was possible in town (Ellis 2000: 41). Villas are often equated with Romanization, but this statement needs to be qualified. Building a luxury villa does not necessarily indicate a desire to be Romanized, but a desire to flaunt one's wealth and to live in comfort; these goals were consistent with the mentality of the pre-Roman elite, who used devices such as prestige gifts and potlatch to assert their social and economic superiority (see chapter 6). Furthermore, the villas of Central Spain were probably inspired by those in more Romanized parts of Spain, rather than Italian models. Nonetheless, in adopting the villa concept, with its large-scale agricultural capacity, multi-roomed manor houses with ornamental mosaics, statues and wall paintings, and such amenities as *triclinia* and private baths, the elite were subscribing, consciously or otherwise, to both the Italian mode of production and a Roman lifestyle. Villas also performed an important social function, in allowing the elite to entertain friends and clients. The *triclinium*, or dining room, was the venue for both dinner parties (*cenae*) and drinking parties (*symposia*), both of which played an important role in social relations by confirming the patron's superior status while providing amicable hospitality to the client (Slofstra 1995: 87). Hunting parties could also be organized on the villa estate to amuse the owner's guests.

After a long history in Italy, villas make their début in Catalunya in the second half of the second century BC (Miret *et al.* 1991: 51–2), but are slow to enter the Meseta. The earliest known example is at Villas Viejas (CU), where Celtiberian and Campanian wares show an origin at the end of the Republican period (Gorges 1979: 254). In several cases, Early Imperial villas show continuity of occupation with the pre-Roman culture, as evidenced by Celtiberian pottery on the site. At Villajimena (P), Tejado (SO) and Calamocha (TE), the Roman villa is actually built upon (or in the last example, adjacent to) the site of a pre-Roman village (García Guinea *et al.* 1963: 130–1; Borobio Soto 1985: 139–40; Burillo 1991b: 185–6). However, mentions of 'Celtiberian' pottery in some of the older reports of villa excavations are misleading, since regional wares of the Imperial period, perpetuating the indigenous painted tradition, were often mistaken for pre-Roman.

There are 128 villa sites that definitely begin in the Early Empire (complete list with references in Curchin 2002c), though many continue into the Late Empire as well. These include 71 sites that may be regarded as certain or probable villas, and 57 that are possible villas (in most cases,

attested by scatters of Early Imperial pottery and sometimes construction material such as trimmed stone or tiles, but no visible structures). Unfortunately the reporting of villas by field archaeologists is inconsistent, and sometimes reflects excessive enthusiasm. For instance, 43 of our 128 examples (about a third) are located in Soria province, but most of these are 'possible' villas identified in the recent *Carta arqueológica de Soria*, consisting of sherd scatters without structural remains; whereas, in Valladolid province, field survey by Mañanes (1979; 1983) has found many similar sherd scatters, which he cautiously avoids labelling as villa sites. Clearly there was a hierarchy of rural sites, which we lack the criteria to distinguish accurately. Some of the 'possible' villas may be small farms or villages (*vici*) rather than true villas. Several sites listed as villas in the old catalogue compiled by J.-G. Gorges (1979) have since proved to have a different function: specifically, five 'villas' at Alcalá de Henares (M) are actually town-houses (Fernández-Galiano 1984: 396–9), while the 'villa' of Las Quintanas at Padilla de Duero (VA) is actually a city, with a walled area of 25 hectares (Sanz Mínguez and Escudero Navarro 1995: 277–9). Moreover, the chronology of the villas is often disputable. Some contain only a few sherds of early pottery, which could be great-grandmother's crockery brought to a Late Roman villa, rather than evidence for an Early Imperial one. Coins of early emperors may indicate an early chronology for a villa, but coins could remain in circulation long after their date of issue. On the other hand, renewed exploration (such as soundings beneath the floor of the latest level) may extend a villa's chronology backwards. Several villas in Palencia province (Dueñas, Hontoria de Cerrato, Prádanos de Ojeda, Quintanilla de la Cueva) which were originally reported as Late Roman, have more recently been shown to have begun in the first or second century AD. Another chronological problem is that excavators in the first half of the twentieth century automatically concluded that any destruction layer must date to the Frankish invasions around AD 260, whereas subsequent assessment suggests that these were only raids and had little impact, least of all in the interior of the Peninsula (Arce 1978; Jones 1988: 161–2). Thus, such destructions may be due to accidental causes, such as a fire or roof collapse, rather than barbarian invaders. Of the 71 certain or probable villas (Figure 5.1), the vast majority (55) are located in the northern Meseta (Burgos 4, Palencia 13, Segovia 3, Soria 15, Teruel 2, Valladolid 7, Zamora 3, Zaragoza 8), and only 16 in the southern Meseta (Ciudad Real 1, Cuenca 2, Guadalajara 6, Madrid 5, Toledo 2). The prominence of the Tierra de Campos (Palencia and Valladolid) in this list shows the triumph of rural Romanization in the Vaccaean country, which was one of the last Meseta zones conquered but also had the greatest agrarian potential. Apart from *Palantia*, there were no major cities in this territory; Roman culture was therefore diffused more through rural establishments than through urbanization. Also significant is the large number of confirmed villas in Soria province, a zone supposedly devoted to herding, which despite its high

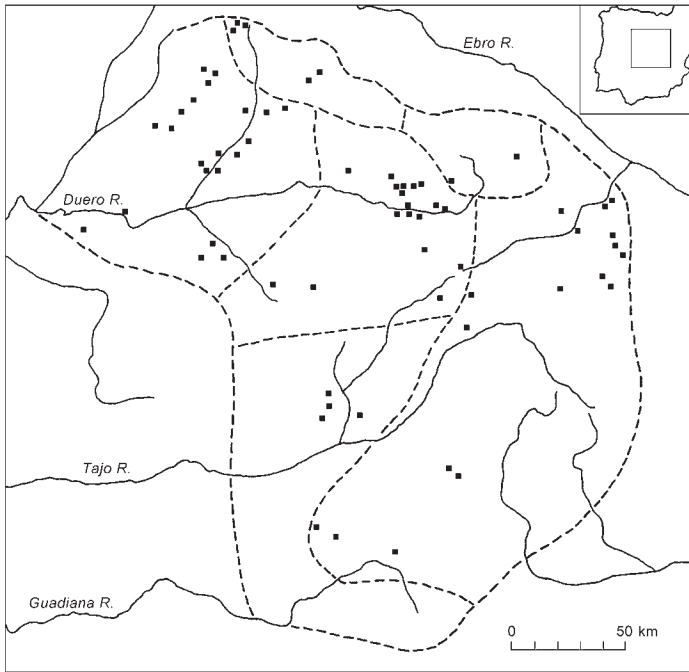


Figure 5.1 Distribution map of certain or probable villas of the Early Empire.

altitude and low temperatures (being the coldest province in Spain) was capable of supporting rich agricultural estates.

Villas naturally tend to be located where soil and water conditions are favourable to agriculture. They are frequently built near rivers or streams, though not so close as to risk flooding. Dueñas, for instance, owes its fertility to the confluence of the rivers Pisuerga and Carrión, forming an oasis in an otherwise arid district (Navarro García 1930–46, vol. 4: 37). The villa at Santervás de Burgo (SO) is served by nearby springs, as well as the river Cejos and a convenient lagoon whose abundant waters were ideal for irrigation (Ortego 1954–5: 171). For access to markets, villas were connected to the rural road system, though they tended to avoid major highways. In terms of layout, the *villa urbana* was modelled on the typical Roman house, including vestibule, atrium, peristyle, dining room and bedrooms. Nevertheless, there was no fixed plan for the arrangement of these rooms, and infinite variety resulted. Unfortunately the evidence from Central Spain cannot inform the scholarly debate over whether the most significant aspect of the villa is its plan (J.T. Smith 1997: 4) or its production and consumption pattern (Purcell 1995: 172). Published plans of villas almost invariably represent the final, grandiose phase, dating to the fourth or fifth century; and

we have no data on production at all. While it is likely that the late plan is in many cases an elaboration and expansion of an earlier one, the fact remains that we have no surviving plan of an Early Imperial villa in Central Spain. However, at Villaverde Bajo (M), where the earlier villa was destroyed by fire in the early third century, the later phase, with fourth-century mosaics, appears to have a simple 'winged corridor' plan (Figure 5.2). This type of layout dates back to the first century, allowing us to speculate that the upper villa followed the same lines as the lower.

If the plans of Early Imperial villas in the Meseta cannot be reconstructed with certainty, it is at least possible to identify some of their Romanized features. Hypocausts (heating systems in which the floor is supported on stacks of tiles, allowing heat from an adjacent furnace to circulate underneath) have been found in several Early Imperial villas. The existence of hypocausts suggests the possibility of bath facilities, though none is demonstrably earlier than the Late Empire. Traces also remain of the rich decoration that graced the interior of some villas. Polychrome fresco was found in the villas at Villas Viejas (CU) and Coca (SG) (Figure 5.3). In the villa of Villarmentero, near Tardajos (BU), was found a marble statue of Venus (a semi-clothed variant of the Cnidian Aphrodite by Praxiteles) dating to the second century (Huidobro 1909). Two busts (male and female) in Carrara

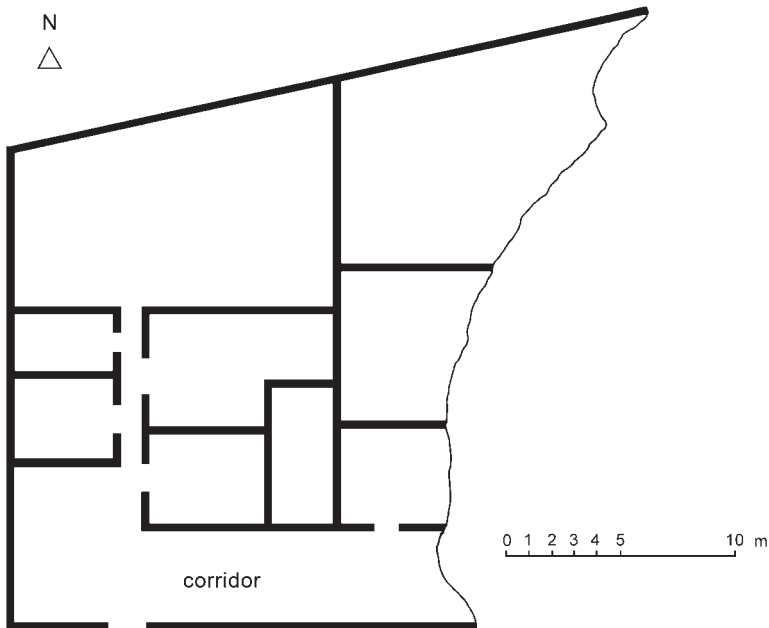


Figure 5.2 Plan of the villa of Villaverde Bajo (M) (after Pérez de Barradas 1931–2).



Figure 5.3 Interior of the villa of 'Cinco Caños' on the outskirts of Cauca, with remains of fresco of the first or early second century AD (courtesy of Dr. J.F. Blanco García).

marble, found in the villa of Becerril de Campos (P) and datable to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, have been heralded as masterpieces of Roman portraiture (Amo 1996). Lamentably, few mosaics of the Early Empire have been found in the villas of Central Spain. Some were probably destroyed to make room for later, more elaborate mosaics; others may still await discovery beneath the Late Roman floor levels.

Since archaeologists are naturally attracted to the *villa urbana*, little work has been done on the outbuildings of the villa. Only at La Hortezueta de Océn (GU) and Ucero (SO) are there reports of the remains of rough stone walls, without mortar, that appear to represent the *villa rustica* or *frumentaria* (López Roa 1978; García-Soto Mateos 1993). Future excavators need to investigate the entire villa complex and not just the owner's abode.

Rarely is it possible to identify the owners of Early Imperial villas, though the scarcity of Italian immigrants in the Meseta makes it probable that most were indigenes. These would be the local magistrates in the *municipia* (privileged towns of pre-Roman origin), whose wealth was based chiefly on landowning. This accords perfectly with the conclusions of scholars in other parts of Europe, that Roman villa owners were normally direct descendants

of Iron Age farmers (Jones 1984: 251). Many of the Meseta villas are located within a few miles of major Roman cities, where their produce could be sold and where villa owners could socialize, participate in local politics and buy luxury goods. By law, municipal business was suspended for up to sixty days a year so that the local elite could attend to the harvest and vintage; based on two crops per year, this presumably means two thirty-day recesses (AE 1986, 333, chap. K; Curchin 1990: 104–6). Students of Roman villas in Britain have interpreted their symmetrical plans as evidence of the Celtic practice of joint ownership, suggesting a continuation of the pre-Roman social order despite the Roman appearance of the buildings (J.T. Smith 1978; Hingley 1989: 6). Whether the villas of Central Spain likewise reflect joint proprietorship cannot be demonstrated, though their size is at least compatible with the notion of an extended family, as well as a sizeable maintenance staff. A few owners are known by name. Upon Martial's return to *Bilbilis*, his local patroness Marcella gave him an estate (*parva regna*, 'a small kingdom') containing a grove, stream, fountains, vines, meadows, and a rose garden; prior to that, he had only 'a crowded cottage (*casa*) with rough fields' (Martial, 10.96, 12.31, cf. 12.21). An inscribed marble altar found in the villa of Cruz del Santo near Valdemaluque (SO) names three slaves whose master's name is represented by the initials L.O.C. This suggests that he is the villa owner, a man so well-known that his name could safely be abbreviated (Gómez-Pantoja 1992: 920–1). Tiles from the villa of Las Augeras near Madridanos (ZA) are stamped C IVII MAS, which may stand for the owner's name, C. Iulius Masculus (Sevillano 1978: 168–9). The pair of marble busts at Becerril de Campos (P), already mentioned, is believed to represent husband and wife, presumably the villa's owners (Figure 5.4). Adjacent to the villa of Vildé (SO) is a turriform funerary monument of about the second century AD, which probably entombed the villa owner (M.V. Romero Carnicero 1992: 728). The Meseta elite may also have owned villas in other districts. The Els Munts villa near Altafulla (Tarragona) contained an inscription of C. Valerius Avitus of *Augustobriga*, dating to the reign of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius (Alföldy 1975: nos. 352–4, 923). An inscribed statue base of an equestrian officer found at *Laminium*, and an inscription of his brother at Venta de los Santos (Jaén), 60 km to the south, suggests that the latter is a villa belonging to the family of the Licinii (Alföldy 1987b: 35–6).

While the large villas have naturally attracted the bulk of archaeological attention, there is some evidence for small farms as well. These would have included one or more buildings, plus animal enclosures and storage pits; the farmer might live on the site in a rustic cottage built of adobe, or in a nearby village as already indicated. An instructive example of such a small farm is Tinto Juan de la Cruz, near Pinto (M), dated ceramically to the first two centuries AD. It is located on a small ridge, a short distance from the Culebro creek. Here have been found the remains of two rectangular buildings with walls of tapial (moulded mud) on stone foundations; lack of tiles or nails



Figure 5.4 Male and female busts in Carrara marble, from the villa of Becerril de Campos (P), probably represent the villa owners. Antonine period. (Museo de Palencia, España).

suggests the roofs were thatched. Beside the larger building was a bell-shaped silo, dug into the ground (Barroso *et al.* 1995: 391–2 and fig. 1). Such simple, unornamented structures, characteristic of the peasant farm, were probably common in ancient times, though few traces survive today. Field survey has shown that small farms were often interspersed with villas. Around *Numantia*, survey has shown that the average spacing of these rural establishments is 5.2 kilometres, yielding an average property size of 2,100 hectares (M.V. Romero Carnicero 1992: 721). The latter figure means little, however, since there was no ‘average’ property: a villa would enclose thousands of hectares, while a small farm would have a small plot. For the farmer, self-sufficiency was not enough; he had to produce a surplus in order to pay taxes and purchase such essentials as storage jars and iron tools (Temin 2001: 178).

Although wheat was the main crop, barley was also grown, producing two harvests a year (Appian, *Iberica* 54; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 18.80). Barley indeed offers a much higher yield than wheat; in modern Toledo, a hectare of land can produce an average of twenty-one quintals of barley, as against eleven quintals of wheat (Chapman 1990: 130). It also needs less rainfall, and can thrive on less fertile soil (Jongman 1988: 81). Olive trees are poorly suited to the northern Meseta, because of the harsh winters, but flourish in the south. Two settling basins for olive oil, similar to those known from Africa and

Sicily, have been excavated at a Roman rural site near *Turiaso* (Bona López and Hernández Vera 1989: 122), and the base of an olive press has been found at Santa Cruz de Moya (CU) (Llopis y Llopis 1948). Fruit was grown around *Bilbilis*, where Martial (1.49) records a grove sacred to the fruit-tree goddess Pomona. *Numantia* was renowned for its pears (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 15.55), unless Pliny's 'Numantina' is a mistake for 'Nomentina': *Nomentum* was a fruit-growing community in Italy (Martial, 13.42). Grapes are cultivated today in both halves of the Meseta (for instance, in La Mancha and the Ribera de Duero), but evidence for ancient production is slim. At the Roman site of El Alba near Villalazán (ZA), in a district significantly known as Tierra del Vino, have been discovered the remains of a wine press, with eighteen stone counterweights, six clay spigots whose insides are stained wine-red, and forty identical jars, similarly stained up to fifteen centimetres from the rim (Sevillano 1978: 329–31). A wine shop is shown on a relief from Lara de los Infantes (BU), in which the owner operates a wine press while his slaves bring baskets of grapes (Figure 5.5 a). Carpetania produced cumin, which requires dry growing conditions (Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 8.6.1). Its aromatic seeds were used in bread, as a spice for wine and fish, and as a remedy for various ailments (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 19.161, 20.259–62; Athenaeus, 4.152). *Vicus Cuminarius*, a village on the road from *Laminium* to *Titulcia* (Itin. Ant., 445.6), derived its name from this crop, which was quite valuable: in Diocletian's Price Edict (1.32), no grain or seed costs more than cumin. Esparto grass, from which ropes, shoes and baskets were manufactured, was grown in the south-east (Mela, 2.86; Palomero Plaza 1987: 223). Underground storage pits ('silos') of pre-Roman types are still found in the Roman period, but for large-scale storage, granaries were constructed. These buildings are readily identifiable from the characteristic stone buttresses on the outer walls, intended to resist the pressure of the weight of grain inside. One such granary was excavated at Castillejo, one of Scipio's seven camps around *Numantia* (Schulten 1933: 114; Ortego 1980: figs. 11–12), and a possible civilian example has been found at Palacios del Pan (ZA), whose very name suggests granaries (Sevillano 1978: 204–6).

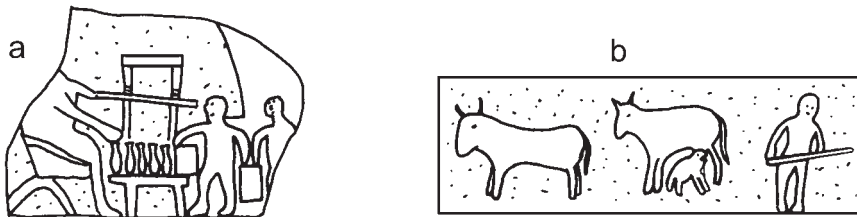


Figure 5.5 Rural activities on Roman stelae from Lara de los Infantes (BU): a wine-making; b herding.

Stockbreeding formed an important sector of the rural economy (Figure 5.5 b). Faunal remains from two Roman villas founded in the second century, as well as from the city of *Ercavica*, show an abundance of cattle, sheep, goats and pigs, as well as small numbers of horses and poultry (Ortego 1954–5: 191; 1976: 362; Palomero Plaza 1987: 25). The great value of cattle is shown by the fact that cows (never sheep) are depicted on funerary stelae, especially from the hill-country north of *Numantia* (Espinosa and Usero 1988), while bulls appear on the coinage of *Ercavica*, *Turiaso* and *Clunia*. There is, however, no evidence of estates devoted solely to ranching; instead, stockbreeding was practised alongside agriculture. The relationship between animal husbandry and cultivation was indeed symbiotic. Animals could eat grass, scrub or post-harvest stubble in summer but required fodder in winter; fields needed animal manure to remain fertile. One tonne of hay would feed a cow or five sheep through the winter (Reynolds 1995: 204); barley, vetch, peas or oats could also be used as fodder. One important use of cattle was as draught animals. Though mules might pull vehicles on the roads, oxen were preferred for ploughing: though slower, they could till more deeply and were less expensive to maintain (Martial, 4.55.25–6; Braudel 1981: 344; Vassberg 1984: 159–60). Sheep in our province were sheared for wool twice a year (Varro, *De re rustica* 2.11.8); they also provided mutton. Celtiberian horses, besides supplying mounts for Roman cavalry, would also have been used to pull racing chariots; several circuses existed in Central Spain, and the owner of the El Val villa at *Complutum*, who was an avid supporter of the Green faction, perhaps raised horses for this purpose (Méndez Madariaga and Rascón Marqués 1989: 58).

Communications

The communication system built by the Romans was essential for control of the Meseta, yet several forms of verbal and non-verbal communication already existed in pre-Roman times. Fire signals between intervisible hill-forts could give early warning of attack; heralds could make public announcements in the streets; runners could bring urgent news or instructions from one place to another. In 151 BC, after slaughtering the male inhabitants of *Cauca* who had accepted his peace terms, Lucullus marched his army to *Palantia* (a distance of more than 100 kilometres), only to find that news of his treachery had preceded him. The news in this instance was probably carried by refugees from *Cauca*, who fled to various fortified Vaccaean towns (Appian, *Iberica* 52–5). For the inhabitants of more remote areas, communication with the outside world would have been sporadic; Cicero claims, no doubt with rhetorical exaggeration, that in parts of southern Italy, people barely received news three times a year (*Pro Roscio* 132).

Whether the Celtiberian script was used for writing letters is unknown; surviving Celtiberian texts are scarcely earlier than the first century BC, and

it is doubtful how many people were literate (see chapter 9). Literacy on a larger scale (through the medium of schools) was introduced by the Romans. However, whereas official messages could travel by military courier or the Imperial Post, private correspondence had to be carried by a slave or a friend. Towns sending petitions or messages to the governor, emperor or other towns could dispatch envoys (*legati*), of which a number are attested (chapter 4). Communications between Roman military outposts were facilitated by signal towers using a complex semaphore system of torches that could spell out detailed messages; these towers, usually small wooden structures, rarely leave an archaeological trace (Hershbelt 1978; G. Webster 1979: 246–8). The mountainous terrain of the Meseta made communications difficult at the best of times. It has often been pointed out that the fastest and cheapest method of travel in ancient times was by ship; this was certainly true for sea voyages, or for inland communications in Gaul, where the Rhône and Moselle rivers connected the Mediterranean to the Rhine. In Central Spain, however, the roughly parallel ranges of the Cantabrian Cordillera, Central Cordillera and Montes de Toledo channel the two principal rivers (the Duero and Tajo) along an east–west course into the Atlantic Ocean, away from Rome. Seagoing vessels could ascend the Duero for 800 stades (150 kilometres) – roughly to the modern Portuguese-Spanish border – and the Tajo for less than 500 stades, but only river boats could navigate upstream into the Meseta (Strabo, 3.3.1, 3.3.4). The use of boats powered by sail and oar to bring supplies and reinforcements to *Numantia* in 133 BC (Appian, *Iberica* 91) suggests that the level of the upper Duero was higher than today, when no watercraft are to be seen (Schulten 1955: 299). With its sluggish current and steep banks, the Tajo afforded neither speed nor accessibility. Travel for flat-bottomed boats (which could be lightened with inflated bladders) and rafts may also have been possible, at least in the wet season, on these rivers' major tributaries – the Esla, Pisuerga and Arlanza in the north, the Jarama, Tajuña and Henares in the south. In the summer, many streams are completely dry. The Guadiana could be used for local transport, but a spectacular waterfall near Serpa (Portugal) denied access to the sea. The Ebro river, which was navigable as far upstream as *Vareia* (near modern Logroño, R) and provided a major outlet to the Mediterranean, was accessible from the Meseta only by road.

Although paved highways were introduced by the Romans, there must already have been well-worn trails in protohistoric times, taking advantage of natural routes, such as river valleys and mountain passes. In rough country the route of preference was the crest road, following rocky ridgelines rather than going through dense brush. Although the pre-Roman roads were often overlaid by Roman and mediaeval ones, and are therefore difficult to detect archaeologically, we do find mention of them in historical accounts. In the spring of 181 BC, a Celtiberian force arrived too late to relieve the siege of *Contrebia*, because the roads had been washed out by heavy rain and swollen

rivers (Livy, 40.33.2). The defenders of *Numantia* in 143 hindered the army of Caecilius Metellus by barricading with ditches and palisades the only road connecting their town with the plain (Appian, *Iberica* 76). Nine years afterward, when Scipio was besieging *Numantia* and food was running low, his officers advised him to take a shortcut that led past the enemy town to the grain-fields; but Scipio, fearing an ambush on the return trip, ordered his troops to take the longer road. The shortcut may have been the Arlanza valley, giving quick access to the Tierra de Campos; the long way would presumably be the winding road along the Duero. Later, while marching from the territory of *Palantia* to *Cauca*, he learned that the enemy had set up an ambush where the road forded a difficult and muddy river, so he turned off and took a longer but safer route (Appian, *Iberica* 87–8). Scipio had probably followed the Pisuerga valley, with the intention of continuing along the Eresma, but the ambush at the Duero forced him to cross further upstream and use an overland trail (cf. Schulten 1937: 72).

The most famous natural route, used repeatedly by Roman armies during the campaigns in the Meseta, was the valley of the river Jalón. This corridor, slicing through the barrier of the Iberian Cordillera, was the key to the Meseta, allowing easy access from the Ebro. The river itself – a modern haunt of white-water rafters – was rapid, treacherous and ice-cold (Martial, 4.55, 10.103, 14.33), but the road along its bank was a major artery. Towns along the Jalón, notably *Ocilis* and *Nertobriga*, changed hands more than once during the revolt of 153–152, as both Celtiberians and Romans struggled to control the valley (Appian, *Iberica* 47–50). At Torralba del Moral (SO) the Jalón and Henares valleys meet, forming a continuous land corridor from the Ebro to the Jarama, and thence to the Tajo. Efficiency of communications was greatly improved by the construction of Roman paved roads, often over existing trails. The roads were laid out by military engineers and built by the army, with the help of conscripted civilians (Chevallier 1976: 84 and n. 59). Since their primary purpose was to allow rapid movement of troops, the roads had to be passable in all seasons. When a road followed a valley, it was built far enough from the river to avoid flooding; when a stream had to be crossed, the pre-Roman ford was replaced by a stone bridge. Yet the roads also had a civil function in encouraging trade, and they were aligned so as to connect most of the cities of the Meseta. It was the Roman road network that linked city and country, tying them into a single economy and providing a basic framework for land survey and new settlements. The roads irrevocably altered the landscape, becoming one of the most visible signs of Romanization in the countryside. However, it has recently been suggested that the roads would have been used mostly by soldiers, merchants and Roman officials; indigenes were not accustomed to long-distance travel, and for short distances would have continued using the pre-Roman trails rather than the alien paved roads. 'For the Roman it was a landscape that emphasised familiarity and power; for the native it was ultimately a landscape of

difference and powerlessness' (Petts 1998: 87–8). Undoubtedly the new roads were at first regarded with suspicion by the locals, but I believe that they soon overcame their distrust. For a farmer taking his harvest to market by ox-cart, paved roads offered a smoother and more solid route than the old tracks. The evidence for emigration from Central Spain, and for serving in the army or civil service in other parts of the empire, shows that not all Mesetans were averse to long-distance travel. Moreover, the Roman roads linked the major towns where indigenes lived, and the convenience of using them must soon have overcome their unfamiliar appearance.

Although the Romans were constructing roads on the east coast by the late second century BC, there is no evidence for Roman road-building in Central Spain during the Republic. The disruptions of the Sertorian and civil wars probably delayed such work until the principate of Augustus. Our knowledge of the chronology of the roads is based entirely on the evidence of cylindrical milestones inscribed with the name of the emperor who built or repaired them. There are also many uninscribed milestones, which may have borne painted lettering; these help indicate the lines of roads, but cannot be dated. A milestone of 8/7 BC at El Hito (CU) suggests an Augustan road from *Segobriga* to *Complutum*, while stones at Gallur (Z) and Padilla de Abajo (BU), dating to 8/7 and 6 BC respectively, testify to construction of a road from *Caesaraugusta* to *Asturica* in the same period (Lostal Pros 1992). As Zanker (1988: 324) has reminded us, even such mundane projects as the building of roads and bridges contributed to the ideology of the Augustan regime, emblemizing the unity of the empire and the superiority of Roman engineering. By AD 33/34, in the reign of Tiberius, the legionary base of *Pisoraca* was linked by road with Cantabria, while milestones in the vicinity of *Augustobriga* (Curchin 2001b) suggest the simultaneous opening of a road from *Caesaraugusta* to *Clunia*. In AD 58, under Nero, repairs were made to the section of the *Caesaraugusta–Asturica* road between *Segisamo* and *Deobrigula* (AE 1992, 1035). There is no dating evidence for the initial paving of the old Jalón–Henares valley route, part of the highway from *Caesaraugusta* to *Emerita*; however, a milestone of AD 85 from Lucena de Jalón (Z), and three of AD 99/100 from *Complutum* and Arganda (M), attest to its restoration under the emperors Domitian and Trajan. Trajanic road repairs in 98/99 are also recorded around *Augustobriga* and at Tordómar (BU) on the road from *Clunia* to Cantabria. Since there were no military units in Central Spain in this period, the work may have been carried out by detachments of the *Legio VII Gemina* from León.

Our most detailed knowledge about the road system comes, not from milestones, but from the so-called Antonine Itinerary. This list of road stations and distances was probably compiled in the third century, though most of the roads were in existence much earlier (Roldán Hervás 1975). In addition to known towns, the itinerary lists obscure names which are probably *mansiones*, staging stations for the Imperial Post. The exact location

of the *mansiones*, and even of some of the towns, is a matter of dispute. Another itinerary, written by an anonymous native of Ravenna in the seventh century, is extremely inaccurate, garbling many of the toponyms and giving no distances, though it includes some roads omitted by the Antonine. The authority of the Antonine Itinerary is held in reverence by students of the Roman road system, but the text is not without errors. Some of the recorded distances are impossibly short or long, suggesting either inaccurate compilation or miscopying of the original manuscript. On the other hand, the number of such errors is probably smaller than some editors have suspected. A seemingly long distance may represent a winding road or a detour; one that appears too short may be the distance to the turnoff for a certain town, rather than to the town itself. Alternatively, some of the town names may refer to a *mansio* outside the town; for instance, the discovery of Roman remains at Calatayud (Z) opens the possibility that the *Bilbilis* of the itinerary may be a *mansio* located here, rather than the Roman city four kilometres away (Cebolla Berlanga *et al.* 1997: 102). Indeed, since many cities in Central Spain are built on steep hills, it is likely that the itinerary station bearing their name is either a nearby *mansio* or a turnoff, since the road is unlikely to have gone through the town. Some confusion has also been occasioned by the fact that the place-names appear inconsistently in the nominative, ablative, locative or accusative case. This has led to the 'empalme' theory, according to which, names in the accusative represent a turnoff rather than a place actually situated on the road (Arias Bonet 1987: 85–103). However, this theory is refuted by numerous exceptions and cannot be relied upon (Abascal 1982: 29).

The Antonine Itinerary provides alternative routes for travelling between major cities (Figure 5.6). Thus, there are three roads from *Emerita* to *Caesaraugusta*. The most direct of these goes north-eastward via *Toletum* to the Henares–Jalón corridor. Another runs east to *Laminium*, then north to *Titulcia*, where it joins the first route. The third heads north from *Emerita* to *Septimanca*, then south-east to *Titulcia*; archaeological evidence shows that it crossed the Sierra de Guadarrama through the Puerto de la Fuenfría mountain pass (Miguel y Eced 1980: 17–21). This route is so circuitous that no sane person would use it to travel from *Emerita* to *Caesaraugusta*, but from any station on it, one could get to either destination. From *Laminium* there is a sideroad to *Toletum*, and yet another road to *Caesaraugusta*, traversing La Mancha. In the north, a road from *Asturica* to *Caesaraugusta* runs past *Clunia* and *Numantia*, while a parallel route further north passes through Vaccaean *Lacobriga* (location uncertain) and the territory of the Turmogi (towns *Segisamo* and *Deobrigula*) before meeting the Ebro valley. Alternatively, one can go south from *Asturica* and meet the *Emerita*–*Caesaraugusta* road. The Antonine Itinerary omits some important towns: *Segobriga*, *Ercavica*, *Valeria*, *Termes*, *Pisoraca* and *Palantia*. The Ravennate version does include a road (also evidenced by milestones) from *Complutum* south-east through *Segobriga* to

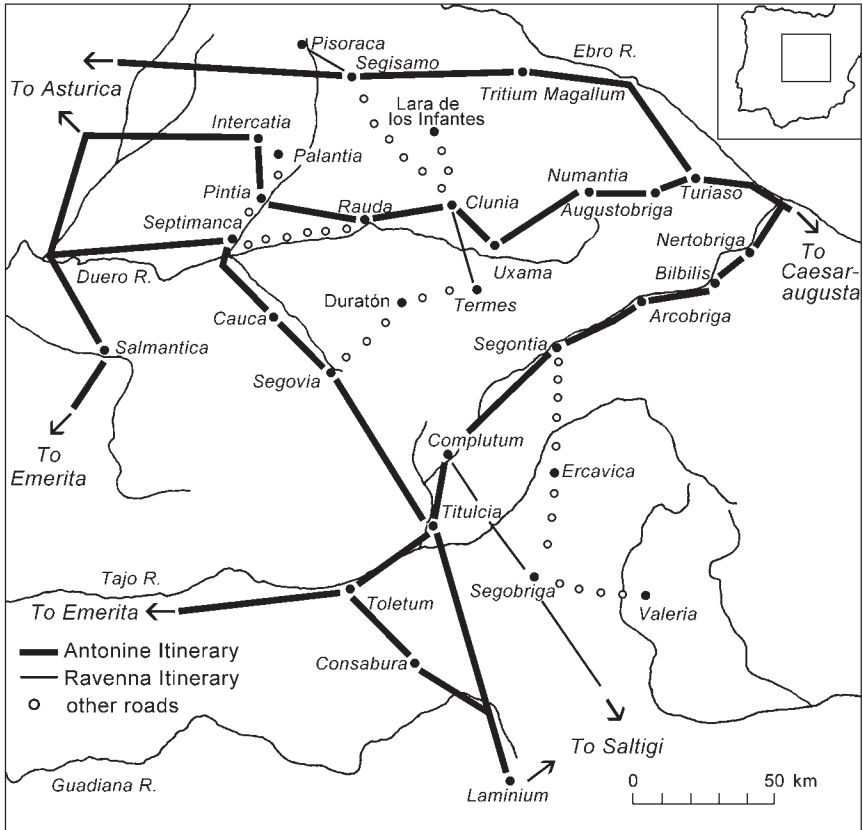


Figure 5.6 The Roman road network.

Saltigi, on the *Laminium-Caesaraugusta* line, and a station *Turbes* near *Clunia*, which may be *Termes*. It also lists a sideroad joining *Pisoraca* to *Lacobriga* and *Segisamo*. *Palantia*, though missing from the itineraries, would have been connected to *Pintia* (Valladolid) and *Septimanca* (Simancas) by the pre-Roman road along the *Pisuerga*. Another curious omission in the itineraries is any road from the southern Meseta to its *conventus* capital, *Carthago Nova*. Fortunately, we know from milestones that there was a road linking this city to *Saltigi* (and thus to *Complutum*) by the reign of Tiberius (Lostal Pros 1992: 391; cf. Corchado y Soriano 1969: 143–4).

The evidence of milestones and itineraries is supplemented by the discovery of actual stretches of roadway, as well as Roman bridges over rivers. Many of these lie on the major routes already discussed, but there are also traces of secondary roads between towns: for instance, from *Clunia* to *Lara de*

los Infantes; from *Uxama* to *Termes*, with branching roads to *Segovia* and *Segontia*; and from *Segobriga* to *Ercavica* (Abásolo 1975: 198–202; 1978: 35–8; Ortego 1985: 148–50; Palomero Plaza 1987: 53–113). These inter-urban roads presumably required the approval and assistance of the Roman authorities, but there were also many municipal roads, radiating from the towns into their territories, built at local expense. For instance, a rock inscription from Alcántud (CU) records the building of eight miles of road with a legacy from a private donor. The inscription has been restored by Alföldy to show the cost of the road as 100,000 sesterces and the associated city as the ‘mun(icipium) Er(cavicensium)’, but the restoration is hypothetical, and the abrupt abbreviation of the town’s name invites suspicion (AE 1987: 663). Another local road, ambitiously named *Via Augusta*, was built by a municipal magistrate (*duovir*) named L. Lucretius Densus (CIL II 2886). The second-century rock inscription recording this benefaction was found near Vinuesa, north-west of *Numantia*, which is probably the magistrate’s origin; other epigraphic evidence suggests that *Numantia* was a Flavian *municipium* (CIL II, 5796). Possibly Lucretius Densus owned land near Vinuesa; the building of roads by private landowners is attested in Italy (T.W. Potter 1987: 137). There must also have been roads leading to Roman mines. For example, a section of road and two bridges have been found near the gold mine of Navas de Jadraque (GU), connecting it with both the *Caesaraugusta–Emerita* highway and Segovia province (Abascal 1982: 103–4). Meseta roads varied in breadth from three metres (wide enough for one carriage) on minor roads to six metres on major highways; a road width of eight metres is reported near *Dessobriga* (Osorno) on the *Asturica–Tarraco* route (Blázquez y Delgado 1916: 32). Although the use of flagstone paving is not unknown, most roads in Central Spain were what the Romans called *viae glarea stratae* (‘roads paved with gravel’), consisting of a base of crushed stone covered with packed earth (easily obtained from digging a drainage ditch on either side), and a cambered surface of gravel, held in place by an edging of squared stone blocks (Figure 5.7) (Chevallier 1976: 86–8; Porres Martín-Cleto 1990; Monzón Moya 1993–4: 137 and fig. 6).

Bridges not only help to confirm the location of the roads, but are a visible reminder that land communications in the Meseta depended largely on Roman engineering skill. Since mediaeval and modern bridges sometimes imitate the Roman construction technique, a secure dating to the Roman period is not always possible, and published mentions of ‘Roman’ bridges are often suspect. The typical Roman bridge contains a core of concrete and is faced in square-cut stone blocks, with arches, parapets and cutwaters. No doubt wooden bridges also existed, but these have left no trace. Many bridges contain but a single arch, to traverse the countless seasonable streams that criss-cross the Meseta. A single-span bridge was preferable to multiple arches, since the piers supporting them would impede the water flow. Nonetheless, multi-arch bridges were needed to cross wide streams. Bridges with two

arches are found only at Lodoso (BU), Golmayo (SO) and Villabuena (SO), but three-arched bridges are very common (Figure 5.8). There are several bridges of four or five arches, mostly in the northern Meseta, but examples with large numbers of arches are rare. The 17-arch bridge across the river Pisuerga at *Septimanca* is Romanesque, but the abutment (particularly at the Simancas end) appears Roman (Palol and Wattenberg 1974: 149). According to a study by Wattenberg (1953–4: 85–7), the 22-arch Puente Mayor at Toro (ZA),

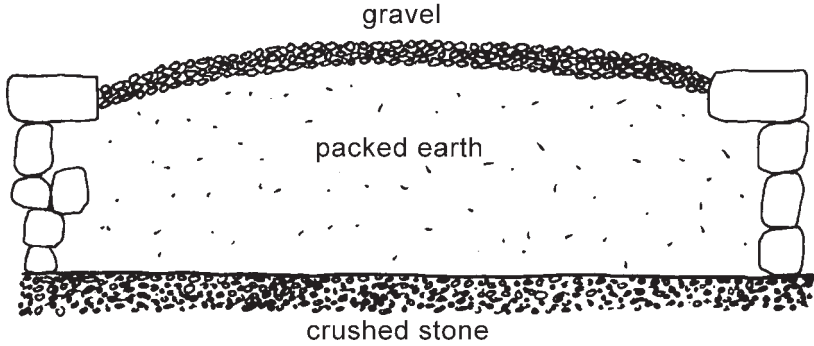


Figure 5.7 *Via glarea strata*, profile (after Monzón Moya 1993–4).



Figure 5.8 Three-arched bridge over the river Brullés, north of *Segisamo*.

stretching 250 metres over the Duero, dates to the first century BC, though a more recent assessment deems it no earlier than Romanesque (Navarro Talegón 1980: 45–8). More secure is another 22–arch example, 244 metres long, crossing the Arlanza at Tordómar (BU). Roman foundations and cutwaters are visible beneath the present bridge, which was rebuilt in the sixteenth century because ten of the original arches were dilapidated. Two milestones were found at the south end of this bridge, one of them dating to Hadrian and recording a distance of 34 miles from *Clunia* (Monzón Moya 1993–4: 127–38). Most spectacular is the bridge of 72 arches over the river Cigüela at Villarta de San Juan (CR), on the road from *Consabura* to *Laminium*. Though the parapets and approaches were rebuilt in modern times, the arches and piers are clearly of Roman construction, and the overall appearance is reminiscent of the long Roman bridges at *Corduba* and *Emerita* (Fernández Ochoa *et al.* 1990: 169 and plate II).

There were several means of land travel in pre-Roman and Roman times. Since most people lacked vehicles, the commonest form of movement was by foot. Even today it is not uncommon to see farm workers walking along the roads, and shepherds driving flocks along mountain tracks. An assassin from *Termes* fled to the woods on horseback, then continued overland on foot (Tacitus, *Annals* 4.45). Another popular conveyance was the mule, which could be used for riding, as a pack animal, or to haul a cart. Mules were used extensively in the Roman world to pull vehicles, and Celtiberian mules were particularly prized (Varro, *De re rustica* 2.8.5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 8.170). Despite their greater cost, they were more sure-footed than asses and able to bear more weight. Animal transportation was slow, but a mule-train could carry cargo – even fragile goods like pottery, packed in straw – over mountainous terrain unsuitable for vehicles. Wheeled vehicles were already used in pre-Roman times: the Vaccaeii, attacked by Sempronius Gracchus in 179 or 178 BC, placed their wagons (*plaustra*) in a circle for defence (Frontinus, *Stratagemis* 4.7.33). The Roman armies operating in the Meseta undoubtedly used hundreds of wagons and mules, though Scipio forbade his soldiers to ride mules, and kept only enough vehicles for supplies and foraging (Appian, *Iberica* 85, 87). The wheel-ruts of carts have been detected in the streets of *Numantia* and *Arcobriga*, and on Roman roads in both the northern and southern Meseta (Schulten 1933: 145; Cerralbo 1987: 20; Sevillano 1978: 274; Palomero Plaza 1987: 127, 175, 206). The poet Martial, who owned a small carriage (*covinnus*) at *Bilbilis*, notes that it is a five-day journey by vehicle from there to *Tarraco* (Martial, 10.104, 12.24). By contrast, an urgent message could travel by courier from *Clunia* to Rome in only seven days (Plutarch, *Galba* 7). A two-wheeled cart (*cisium*) pulled by a mule was probably a common sight, as it still is in parts of the Mediterranean, but not without danger; a tombstone from Soria province commemorates a forty-five-year-old man who died when thrown from his *cisium* (Jimeno 1980: no. 60).

Conclusions

If urbanism was a novelty of the Roman period, ruralism involved both continuity and change. The changes were mostly initiated by individuals evolving strategies to optimize agricultural production, though there were also state impositions such as taxation and territorial surveying. While cereal economy and livestock raising continued to predominate, significant new crops like grapes and olives were introduced. Technological improvements included the introduction of oil and wine presses as well as new farming tools. Land boundaries were now regulated by centuriation.

Evidence for rural settlement underlines the interrelation of town and country. The terrain was not monopolized by slave-run *latifundia* as in Italy; instead we find a mixture of large and small farms worked by free men. A series of villages (*vici*) in the territory of each city allowed farmers to live close to their fields and herds. Villas were situated in the city's extensive territory, and the cities were linked by a road network that enabled farmers to bring their produce to market. Although we lack quantitative data, agricultural production in the Early Empire must have increased to meet a growing, and increasingly urban, population. While small farms continued, we see the growth of larger, more efficient estates, the villas. The villa was a symbol of elite wealth and luxury, as well as being a working farm. Though Early Imperial villas cannot match in grandeur those of the Late Empire, they played a crucial role in the transition from subsistence agriculture to a market-oriented rural economy.

The rural landscape also felt the impact of another novelty: paved highways. Roads were a particularly vital means of communication in Central Spain, since the major rivers flowed only east–west, and the minor ones were seasonal. Under Augustus and Tiberius a series of highways was built across the Meseta, initially for military use, but the demobilization of Central Spain left them open to everyone. Some roads followed river valleys, such as the Pisuerga and Jalón; others ran overland, connecting towns and villas. Roads facilitated human mobility and the transport of goods; though a symbol of foreign empire, they played a crucial role in regional communication. Villas and roads thus contributed materially to the construction of a new, Romanized landscape in Central Spain.

6

IDENTITY AND STATUS

The question of why and how social change occurs is vital to archaeology. Indeed, for many archaeologists it provides the justification for archaeology.

(Shanks and Tilley 1987: 137)

While archaeologists often speak of ‘cultural systems’, those informed by sociology insist that culture is not a closed system, but is strongly affected by patterns of human interaction (Renfrew 1972: 496; Trigger 1984: 283–4). This social interpretation of culture, which rightly stresses the importance of people over systems, can be profitably used to enhance our understanding of assimilation in Central Spain, since one of the most conspicuous aspects of cultural change was the adoption of Roman social customs and social networks by real people. Human agency, the role of individuals in making conscious, personal choices about their identity and career, their children’s names, attachment to a patron and so on, was a major factor in Romanization. In this chapter we shall consider how and why pre-Roman social structures in Central Spain were influenced and largely (though not entirely) altered as a result of prolonged contact and interaction between Celtiberians and Romans.

The waning of the clan

Like many agro-pastoral societies, the Celtiberians had in addition to the family a larger kinship unit, which we may call the clan. Although the concept of clan organization has sparked controversy among Celtiberian specialists because of its use by nineteenth-century anthropologists to characterize ‘savage’ societies (F. Beltrán Lloris 1989: 148; Gómez Fraile 2001: 227–8), there is no need to deprecate its application in a non-pejorative sense. In anthropological terminology, the clan is a suprafamilial, often supralocal, kin group claiming lineal descent from a common ancestor. Clans usually have a common name and common ceremonies or activities

that give them a distinctive corporate identity (Ember and Ember 1993: 338; Holy 1996: 75–7). The suprafamilial names of Central Spain, frequently mentioned in Celtiberian and Roman inscriptions as part of personal nomenclature, usually end in -qum, -cum or -con (sometimes Latinized into -corum, which shows that they are genitive plurals) and are derived from the name of the clan founder, for instance *Letondiqum* from *Letondo*, or *Abilicon* from *Abilus*. These 'gentilic' (clan) names are essentially confined to the peoples of the Meseta and their immediate neighbours on the west, north and east (Vettones, Astures, Cantabri, Autrigones, Sedetani). They are not found south of our region; the southernmost example known is *Solicum*, at Navas de Estena (CR) in the territory of *Toletum* (AE 1985, 621). Within the Meseta, they are most common in the lands of the Arevaci, especially in eastern Segovia and southern Soria provinces. Schulten's theory that each of the numerous fortified villages of the Meseta was a 'clan-city' (*Sippenstadt*) controlled by a particular clan (Schulten 1914: 239; 1927b: 6) cannot be true unless we make the improbable assumption that each member of the community was a lineal descendant of the founder. More likely, each small community contained members of several clans. Thus, even at a small site like Collado Villalba (M) or Ventosilla y Tejadilla (SG) we have epigraphic mention of more than one clan in tombstones from the same cemetery (Knapp 1992: nos. 180, 181, 319, 321). At larger centres, such as *Segobriga*, *Clunia*, *Segovia* and Lara de los Infantes (BU), we find a considerable variety of gentilics. Moreover, at least five clans (*Dolicon*, *Eburancon*, *Lougestericon*, *Manuciqum*, *Moenicum*) are represented in more than one Meseta town, while others (including *Abilicon*, *Anniqum*, *Canbaricum*, *Crastunicum*, *Letondiqum*, *Tritalicum*) are found both inside and outside our region. However, the appearance of the same gentilic name in two different places does not necessarily prove a connection; since they are derived from personal names, some of the duplicates may be coincidental.

Some societies have clans that are matrilineal; this does not appear to be the case in the Meseta. The patrilineal nature of the clan is suggested by inscriptions in which sons bear the same gentilic name as their father (González Rodríguez 1986: 121–35, nos. 1, 88). Naming patterns lead to the same conclusion. Although men and women may list either their own gentilic (for example, *Letondo Calnicum Crastunonis f.* 'Letondo of the Calnici, son of Crastuno') or that of their father (*Domitia Vicci Malugeniqum f.* 'Domitia, daughter of Viccius of the Malugeniqi'), child and father seem always to belong to the same clan. An anomalous example from Malamonedá (TO) in which a father and daughter have different gentilics, may result from adoption or second marriage; in other words, the 'father' is not the biological parent (Hübner 1903: no. 317). Celtiberian clans allowed both exogamy and endogamy; this is shown by inscriptions in which husband and wife have different gentilics, and others in which they have the same gentilic, indicating descent from a common ancestor (González Rodríguez 1986:

102–3). It is unknown whether some clans were aristocratic and others not, like the patrician and plebeian *gentes* at Rome.

If we begin with the reasonable assumption that all persons of free birth in the pre-Roman period belonged to clans, the Latin inscriptions from our region allow several inferences. On one hand, the absence of gentilics in the nomenclature formula of many persons whose recorded names are clearly indigenous, suggests that the gentilic system was declining in importance during the Early Empire. On the other hand, the appearance of gentilics in Cantabrian name formulas of the fourth century AD shows that suprafamilial groups (or some of them, at least) survived into the Late Empire (González Rodríguez 1986: no. 46; *HEp* 588). From this survival we may conclude that the Romans were not interested in stamping out the indigenous clans, so long as their activities posed no threat to public security (Tsirkín 1988: 482). The use of indigenous gentilics was apparently not seen as inconsistent with Romanized nomenclature, despite the fact that the Romans used a very different gentilic name, the *nomen gentilicium* (which had, however, long ceased to be transmitted solely by descent). Thus, in our region, clan names are found among not only persons with indigenous personal names, but also those with fully Latinized *tria nomina* and sometimes even Roman voting tribe, such as 'L(ucius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) Gal(eria tribu) Crescens Bundalicon' at *Clunia* (CIL II, 2785). A statistical study of the epigraphic data concludes that more than 20 per cent of indigenous gentilics occur with *tria* or *duo nomina* rather than a single name, though it should be pointed out that some of the *cognomina* in these names are non-Latin, and some of the so-called *duo nomina* consist of two indigenous names (such as *Acca Lecira*) rather than a Roman *nomen* and *cognomen* (Romero Ruiz 1985: 345). However, there are also many inscriptions in which the indigenous gentilics are not mentioned at all. It seems likely that, as Mesetans became accustomed to thinking of themselves as *Valerii* or *Sempronii*, the old gentilic system began falling into disuse.

The role of the Celtiberian clans, other than as merely genealogical divisions, is imperfectly known. Since a suprafamilial kin group is less 'natural' than a household, and some of its members may not even know one another, its social actions tend to be limited and intermittent (Weber 1968, vol. 1: 366). However, we have reasonable grounds to believe that these activities included guest-friendships with other groups, and periodic banquets for clan members. Among the zoomorphic hospitality tokens in indigenous script, there is one labelled simply with the gentilic name *atulicum*, implying that the clan of this name was one of the parties in an exchange of friendship (perhaps with some other clan). Another token is inscribed *kortonikum tuinikukuei kar*. The first word, though in the genitive plural case, is not a clan, but refers to the people of *Cortonum*, a known town. The other party in the transaction, as indicated by the enclitic conjunction *kuei* 'and', is *tuiniku(m)*, which is possibly the name of a clan with which this town made

friendship (*kar*). The inscription would then mean, 'friendship of the people of *Cortonum* and the *Duinici* clan' (Untermann 1997: nos. K.0.6, K.0.13; Curchin 1994b: 100–1). The evidence for banquets comes from Strabo (3.3.7), who records that the peoples of the Spanish highlands exhaust their scant supply of wine 'in merry feasts with their kinfolk (*syggenon*)'. Since these feasts appear to involve more than the individual household, yet are specifically based on kinship rather than on political community, the most likely social unit to fit the context is the clan (González Rodríguez 1993: 148–52).

Another, or possibly the same, type of suprafamilial organization, the *cognatio*, is mentioned in a single document, a *tessera hospitalis* of AD 134 from Montealegre (VA). It records that three envoys from *Amallobriga*, 'in the name of the *cognatio Magilancum*', renewed a previous hospitality pact, of unspecified date, with the senate and people of *Cauca* (AE 1988, 764). *Amallobriga*, like *Cauca*, is a town of the *Vaccae* and listed in the Antonine Itinerary. A proposal to locate it at Tiedra (VA) has now been dramatically supported by air photography, which reveals a complete urban grid with many buildings (Solana Sáinz 1986–8: 57; Olmo Martín 1999: 48). The Latin term *cognatio* has been taken as designating relatives on the mother's side, as opposed to paternal kinship, *agnatio* (Bravo 1989: 315; Le Roux 1995: 88). This may be a spurious interpretation, since the correct distinction between *cognatio* and *agnatio* in Latin is that the former can include relatives on either side of the family, while the latter is confined to patrilineal kin (Pomata 1996: 45–8). On the other hand, the *cognatio* in this inscription is clearly non-Latin, and the possibility of a matrilineal organization in part of the Meseta should not be summarily dismissed (as by Gómez Fraile 2001: 250). Modern ethnography shows that a tribe with matrilineal clans may live next to one with patrilineal ones (Hodder 1982: 132–133, 153). The *cognatio Magilancum*, whose name may be compared with the gentilic *Magilanicum* borne by a man from *Mirobriga* of the *Vettones*, has been seen as an indigenous suprafamilial group, perhaps equivalent to the clans we have been discussing, or to the *gentilitas* (a subdivision of the *gens*) attested in Asturias (Balil and Martín Valls 1988: 25–6; Pereira Menaut 1993). However, the relatively late date of the Montealegre document, as well as the tendency of Roman law to identify unequivocally the parties involved in a transaction, suggests that *cognatio* may be a Roman rather than a Celtiberian concept, and thus unrelated to the clan system (Le Roux 1994: 349–50).

Constructing a Roman identity

'Identity' is an important but ambiguous concept: it can refer to a sameness among a group of people, or something individual that distinguishes one from the group (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). In the first sense, it is often described as 'national' or 'cultural' identity; in the second, as 'personal identity' (Friedman 1994: 29–30; Hjerm 1998). Every person possesses an identity

with both individual and group dimensions, 'a set of ideas about who they are and with whom they belong' (Grahame 1998: 156). In a cultural contact situation, identity may be 'past-oriented', defined by loyalty to one's ethnic, linguistic and religious heritage, or 'present-oriented', based on expedient allegiance to the state and aspiration to its citizenship, depending on one's priorities (De Vos 1995: 26–7). For instance, a man who was Vaccaean by birth could change his self-definition by identifying with another nation or culture, such as that of Rome (Wells 1999: 193).

But while these principles of identity may seem straightforward, their application is problematic. Individuals do not necessarily agree on what constitutes their national or cultural identity (Hjerm 1998: 339), and that identity is also liable to change over time. What comprises 'Romanness' in the time of the Empire is not the same as under the Republic, for the Empire had become much more diversified and cosmopolitan, assimilating various cultures and their identities. Moreover, a person's identity is often difficult to reconstruct two millennia later. What could be more 'Roman' than the Latin inscription in bronze letters from *Segobriga*, on which a benefactor records that he paved the forum at his own expense? Yet his nomenclature includes the very un-Latin name Spantamicus, apparently formed from an indigenous gentilic (Abascal *et al.* 2001a). Here we have a person whose name proclaims a non-Roman identity, yet who uses the Roman language to record his contribution to his town's Roman appearance. Such a person has neither a purely indigenous nor purely Roman identity. While it is hazardous to guess his intentions, it seems likely that despite an indigenous origin, he wishes to appear Roman. Again, why would an inscription honouring a high priest of the Imperial cult at *Tarraco* announce that he came from an indigenous town like *Segontia* or *Alaba* (CIL II, 4195, 4200)? Apparently such a person did not see a conflict between being indigenous and being Roman, but rather thought of himself as Hispano-Roman, what we might call a Romanized provincial. His indigenous origin is not concealed but rather advertised, as if to boast that a native of the hinterland could be successful in the Roman political system.

It is scarcely possible to reconstitute identity in Central Spain in the pre-Roman period, for the indigenous folk have no voice. From literary sources we glean some idea of how the Romans thought of them; we do not know how they thought of themselves. We do, however, know that there was no Spanish national identity: people were part of smaller units such as Arevaci or Carpetani. It was the Romans who gave them a national identity – as Romans. During the conquest period, people were fiercely loyal to their own chiefdom and town, as seen in the fanatical resistance offered to the Romans by the Arevaci at *Numantia*. The importance of personal identity is implied by the carving of owners' names in Celtiberian script on individual property such as drinking cups; but what that identity entailed, beyond the bare personal name, is unclear.

Change in thinking, and the construction of new identities, was a gradual process, and not necessarily a thorough one. A provincial might see no contradiction in using Roman artifacts while bearing an indigenous name, or in speaking Latin but not wearing Roman dress. Politically, of course, the provincials lived within the boundaries of the Roman world, but culturally they remained somewhat outside (Wells 1999: 94). It took time for them to adopt a broader world-view, to think of themselves as ‘Romans’ and of the Roman empire as ‘their’ empire (cf. Ando 2000: 331). In their daily lives, provincials adhered to many elements of their traditional culture, but with novel modifications. For instance, houses were still built in the customary manner, but with the addition of new features such as columns, mosaics and frescoes (Figure 6.1). Some pre-Roman cemeteries continued in use, with cremated human remains buried in urns as previously, but with Roman coins and pottery among the grave goods (Curchin 1997b: 22–4). While such hybrid tombs have been seen as representing ‘indigenous peoples expressing conflicting identities in the process of change’ (Wells 1999: 97), it is extremely unlikely that the indigenes were aware of any conflict in their changing identity. Those who obtained Roman citizenship not only received a new legal identity, but also had to change parts of their cultural persona, since they were expected to adopt the *tria nomina*, the Latin language, and an urban lifestyle (F. Beltrán Lloris 1999: 133).



Figure 6.1 Romanized house at *Numantia*.

We can see many ways in which the indigenes altered their self-perception and cultural values. The use of Roman manufactured goods, and of public facilities such as baths and theatres, suggests that provincials were identifying with Mediterranean civilization (Wells 1999: 265). Local elites, who readily emulated the Romans and in due course received Roman citizenship, erected statues of emperors to prove their loyalty to the regime. They also built public monuments that created an identity for the inhabitants by symbolizing their position in relation to the Roman state and its gods (Laurence 1994: 20). Honorific inscriptions erected by and for the elite stressed their Romanized identity in terms of nomenclature, citizenship and public offices. The financial status of the deceased could be revealed by the size and elaboration of their tombstones. Sculptures of the elite, such as local magistrates (see below) and the villa-owning couple from Palencia province (Figure 5.4), were images of power and privilege, an important form of self-representation that portrayed individuals as they wished to be remembered. Even for the lower classes, funerary inscriptions provided a lasting identity, as people who may not have been prominent in life became prominent in death. Freedmen in particular used tomb inscriptions to legitimize their citizen status and proclaim their integration into Roman society (Hope 1998: 180). Funerary monuments thus played an important role in commemorating identity and demonstrating acculturation.

Citizenship was one of the political mechanisms by which Rome held together an empire of more than fifty million souls. Roman citizens with full rights, and Latin citizens with partial rights, formed a 'partnership of citizenship' (*societas civitatis*) linking the provinces to Rome (Augustine, *City of God* 5.17). The role of successive emperors in extending citizenship privileges to individuals or entire communities accelerated the integration of provincials into Roman society (Jacques and Scheid 1990: 288–9). Romans regarded the extension of citizenship as a means of 'expanding the Roman name by giving others a share of its privileges' (Velleius Paterculus, 1.14.1). What Velleius leaves unsaid is that citizenship grants also inspired loyalty to the regime. Citizens shared common benefits (including the right to marry, to inherit, to make contracts, and to appeal criminal convictions to Rome) which provided an enticing incentive for *peregrini* (non-citizens) to assimilate. Being able to declare, *Civis Romanus sum* ('I am a Roman citizen') was a mark of prestige and respectability to which many provincials aspired. Archaeologists often ask whether status is 'ascribed' or 'achieved' (Hodder 1982: 197): in the case of Roman or Latin citizenship, it was either ascribed at birth, or achieved during one's lifetime. Roman citizenship could be acquired by holding a magistracy in a *municipium*, by completing twenty-five years' military service as an auxiliary, or (in the case of slaves) by being emancipated by a Roman citizen. It was thus not a privilege restricted to the elite, but neither was it easy to achieve. Only a limited number of important towns were granted the status of *municipium*, with the accompanying 'right

of Latium' (*ius Latii*) which gave Roman citizenship to the annual magistrates and their families, and Latin citizenship to the other free inhabitants. Rome could make such a grant as a reward for past co-operation with Rome, but its privileges ensured the town's future loyalty as well. The date of municipal grants in Spain is revealed by the *tribus* – the 'voting tribe' in which all Roman citizens were enrolled – mentioned by natives of particular towns on their inscriptions. From this evidence, we know that a large number of cities in our region received *ius Latii* under Augustus and Vespasian (chapter 4). Although there would thus have been many Latin citizens in the Meseta during the first century AD, full Roman citizenship was confined to a small elite of municipal magistrates. However, the number of office-holding families would have grown over time, partly because the promise of Roman citizenship was itself an excellent reason to seek election. As a result, many families in privileged cities would have acquired Roman citizenship in the second century, and (since no one is prouder of citizenship than a new citizen) would have proclaimed their status on inscriptions. Thus, as Meyer (1990: 95) has indicated, it is no accident that the 'epigraphic habit' reaches its peak in this period. Roman citizens are readily recognizable in inscriptions by the inclusion of the voting tribe (abbreviated 'Gal.' or 'Quir.') in their nomenclature. In Meseta inscriptions, 28 men are designated Galeria, and 23 Quirina – a tiny proportion of the epigraphically attested males. The use of *tria nomina* (or, in the second and third centuries, *duo nomina*) indicates non-peregrines, though such names were regularly used by Latin citizens as well as Roman ones. The relative proportions of Mesetans bearing *tria nomina*, *duo nomina*, or a single name, are presented in chapter 9.

Demographic changes

It has long been known that the Meseta was a centre of dispersion of population rather than attraction. Twenty-five per cent of attested emigrants from the Iberian Peninsula are styled *Clunienses*, though this may include the entire *conventus Cluniensis* rather than just the city *Clunia* (Gómez-Pantoja 1998). This is not to say that the region suffered a serious depopulation: only 162 persons are epigraphically recorded as leaving the Meseta, though the actual number would be many times this. However, the majority of the population, and especially those over the age of thirty, is unlikely to have moved anywhere, in accordance with the 'axiom of cumulative inertia', the demographic principle that the longer people live in a place, the less likely they are to leave (Hudson 1977: 19). Therefore, those who left were most likely men in their late teens or early twenties, seeking employment in the army, the mines and so on (though the migrants also include a few women). The migrants are overwhelmingly non-elite: moving to another town would make you an *incola* (resident alien) and ineligible to run for local office (Morley 1996: 174–6), though exceptions are known (Curchin 1990: 100).

There are only 27 known immigrants, 19 of them from elsewhere in the province of Hispania Citerior (including five from Galicia and three from *Caesaraugusta* in the Ebro valley). There are two immigrants from Lusitania and none from Baetica. Of foreign immigrants, two men came from Gaul, one from Germany and one from Italy. Although the Meseta was not fertile enough to attract Italian settlers, and lacked veteran colonies, the lone Italian attested epigraphically (*HEp* 7, 941) is surely an understatement of reality. The high quality of wall and floor decoration in some Meseta houses is thought to be the work of Italian craftsmen (García Merino 1995: 57; Guiral Pelegrín and Martín Bueno 1996: 264), though this judgement unfairly denigrates the ability of provincial artisans. Moreover, *Turiaso* and *Bilbilis*, as *municipia civium Romanorum* (the latter with the surname *Italica*), must have had a considerable Italian population.

Of 162 recorded persons who left the Meseta, forty moved abroad. These include seven in Gaul, six in Germany, four on the Danube, fifteen in Rome, two in the rest of Italy, one in Dalmatia, two in Britain and three in Africa. Twenty-three of these were military men serving in the auxiliaries and legions, or the Praetorian Guard at Rome (examples in Perea Yébenes 2001). Those at Rome also included the poets Egnatius, Martial, and Lucius (Catullus, 39; Martial, 4.55). The other 122 known emigrants moved to other parts of Spain. These include twenty-nine in Galicia, thirty in the rest of Tarraconensis, seven in Baetica and an astounding fifty-six in Lusitania. Sixteen persons moved to the provincial capital *Tarraco*, several of them as provincial priests or priestesses. Several others migrated, undoubtedly seeking employment, to mining regions such as Riotinto (Huelva), the Sierra Morena (principally *Castulo* and *Baesucci*) and Galicia (Haley 1991: 89–98). Such movement is attested not only by epitaphs, but also by coin circulation, since the mines of Galicia and the Sierra Morena contain a high percentage of Celtiberian coins, including those of *Bilbilis* and *Turiaso* (both located in the El Moncayo mining district), presumably brought in by Mesetan workers (García-Bellido 1986: 36–42). One may speculate that young men from mining families of El Moncayo, unable to find enough vacancies in the local mines, took their skills elsewhere. The high volume of coins of *Segeda* found in mining villages in Andalusia and Extremadura also seems to point to migrant miners from the Meseta (Burillo 2001b: 106). However, most of the Meseta miners attested epigraphically come from other towns, especially *Clunia* and *Uxama*. Some of the migrants to Lusitania may also have been miners. Five *Clunienses* moved to the *civitas Igaeditanorum*, a Lusitanian mining district (Edmondson 1987: 64–6), and a man from *Arcobriga* is found at Burgo (Portugal) where there are still mines today. *Tamusia*, a town in Extremadura (eastern Lusitania) with silver and lead mines nearby, issued coins in Celtiberian script on the typology of those of *Segeda*, presumably for use by Celtiberian miners (Burillo 1998: 308–12). Other migrants to eastern Lusitania, including more than a dozen

natives of *Clunia* and *Uxama* attested at *Capera*, *Caurium*, *Norba* and *Abila*, may have been involved in transhumant pasturing, utilizing the 'Vía de la Plata', a major ancient artery running north-south from Galicia to Seville (García Merino 1975: 188; Gómez Pantoja 1999a: 104–5).

It is certainly remarkable that about 30 per cent of the immigrants to towns in Cáceres province (including *Caurium*, *Norba* and *Capera*) come from *Clunia*, as opposed to only 10 per cent from the provincial capital, *Emerita* (Hurtado de San Antonio 1979: 419). Why did so many *Clunienses* emigrate to Galicia and Lusitania? We may dismiss the improbable suggestions that *Capera* had a more pleasant climate (Haley 1991: 112) – in fact, Extremadura has a harsh climate, which prompted emigration to the New World in later times – or that the indigenes of *Clunia* were evicted to make room for Galba's colony (Haley 1992) – in fact, no colony is mentioned here before the second century AD. Nor was migration due to underpopulation in those two areas, since Lusitania and Galicia had a high population density (García y Bellido 1977: 24). The reason for leaving may rather be that *Clunia*, despite being a *conventus* capital, had limited employment opportunities, especially for the young. The reason for moving westward may be the known historical phenomenon that migrations more readily follow rivers than roads (Russell 1972: 32). It was easier for emigrants from *Clunia* and *Uxama* to follow the Duero valley into Galicia than to cross the Iberian Cordillera into Catalunya, though travel to places like *Capera* would certainly have involved a road journey. Language may also be a factor: since Galicians spoke a Celtic language not unlike Celtiberian, a worker from the northern Meseta with little knowledge of Latin might have found the north-west less alienating than Catalunya or Andalusia. Also, once an enclave of Celtiberian workers was established in Galicia or Lusitania, their friends and relatives might well decide to join them, forming an expatriate community.

The elite and personal wealth

Social status embraces two variables, power and wealth: the power to control wealth determines one's position in society (Joyce 1997: 137). Those who controlled the most resources – the indigenous elite – played a complex role in Romanization. They integrated themselves into the new order introduced by the Romans, including urban government and lifestyle (Castro López and Gutiérrez Soler 2001: 152); they spearheaded the Romanizing process in each community, acting as personal examples for their fellow citizens to emulate (Curchin 1990: 126); and they enhanced their power and wealth in the process (Woolf 2001: 173).

Like other Celtic peoples, the Celtiberians had a ranked social hierarchy based on personal status, as is evident from marked differentiation in the elaborateness of houses and burials. This inegalitarian society was dominated by a martial elite – the so-called 'warrior aristocracy' – who provided

political direction and served as cavalry in wartime. They were often buried with their weapons, both as a status symbol and presumably for expected use in the next world (Curchin 1997b: 17). Though weapons in tombs can be ceremonial objects rather than instruments of war, the fortified nature of Iron II settlements and the famed bellicosity of the Celtiberians affirm a military context for these artifacts. Rich burials with a martial flavour suggest that rank was based on achievement rather than heredity (Wason 1994: 85). Though one source (Diodorus Siculus, 33.17.3) refers to the Numantine nobles as *eugeneis* 'those of good birth', individual merit is stressed in such descriptions as 'bravest of all the Numantines' or 'surpassing all Celtiberians in valour' (Appian, *Iberica* 94; Valerius Maximus, 3.2.21). The total size of the elite is difficult to calculate, but we do know that in 153 BC the Arevaci were able to field 5,000 cavalry against a Roman army and put it to flight (Appian, *Iberica* 45). Such a large number, even allowing for exaggeration, can hardly reflect an egalitarian class: there must have been some social differentiation into greater and lesser nobles, with the latter as clients of the former.

The status of the elite was denoted by a 'symbolic code', a set of attributes distinguishing them from the rest of the population, such as titulary, horses and ornamented weaponry, and possibly other symbols that do not survive, such as tattoos or special clothing. The status symbols of this mounted elite included bronze brooches in the form of horses and horsemen, and horse-shaped bronze finials for cavalry standards (Almagro-Gorbea 1998). Beneath the elite in the social pyramid, specialized craftsmen such as artists and metalsmiths probably enjoyed privileged status; and below these were the common people, mostly farmers and herders, who provided the infantry in battle. Although this society was stratified, there were strong vertical ties between the wealthy nobles and their lower-class dependants, in the form of patron-client relationships; the status and prestige of a noble was enhanced by the number of his clients. Since wealth is dependent on surplus, the elite would have controlled and managed the principal means of production (land, livestock and mines) in their community. The labour-intensive construction of walled towns shows that the elite also controlled communal manpower resources. There would also have been extensive 'networking' or social interaction among elites, including marital alliances and diplomatic gifts. Imported luxury items, such as the Hispano-Punic bronze jug found at *Cauca* (Blanco García 1986: 4) and a possible Attic amphora of the fifth century BC at *Segobriga* (Almagro-Gorbea 1992: 275), were probably prestige gifts exchanged between Meseta noblemen and their coastal counterparts. Hoards of silver coins and jewelry probably represent elite wealth buried in time of crisis, though it is possible that some of them are votive deposits.

Classical sources use a confusing variety of titulary to describe the rank of particular members of the indigenous elite. This confusion undoubtedly results from the lack of a clear equivalency between Celtiberian and Greco-

Roman political offices. Thus references to indigenous leaders as *reguli*, *duces*, *principes*, *epiphanes* and so forth, do not necessarily reflect different grades of elite, but inability on the part of classical writers to find an exact parallel for these ranks in their own society. It should also be remembered that political and military leaders were often the same persons; therefore the characterization in our sources of an individual as *strategos* ('general'), or similar military title, need not imply a non-political figure. That the mounted elite who played such a central role in cavalry battles were also important in the civil sphere, is shown by the image of a cavalryman regularly appearing on indigenous coins and stelae (Figure 6.2). Our only reliable evidence for what the indigenous elite called themselves in their own language is provided by an inscription from Peñalba de Villastar (TE), in Latin letters but Celtiberian language, naming Turos, *uiros ueramos* of the Caroī, an otherwise unknown people (Untermann 1997: no. K.3.18). *Uiros ueramos* means 'highest man' and is the Celtic equivalent of Latin *summus vir*, a phrase actually used by



Figure 6.2 Stele of a mounted warrior, from Lara de los Infantes (BU). The deceased is identified as Madicenus Calaetus, son of Ambitus (Archivo Fotográfico. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid).

Florus (1.33.13) to describe the Numantine leader Olyndicus. Classical sources also make reference to holders of specific civil positions, such as elders, envoys and magistrates (chapter 4). As well, there were several occasions in the mid-second century BC when the Romans took Celtiberian hostages, undoubtedly members of the elite, as safeguards against revolt (Diodorus Siculus, 33.16.1; Appian, *Iberica* 50, 52, 54, 77).

The possible existence of kingship in Celtiberia is suggested both by toponyms such as *Rigusa* (a Carpetanian town) and *Rigae* (a place near *Bilbilis*) containing the Celtic root *rig-* ('king') and by Livy's mention (35.7.8) of a king (*rex*) named Hilernus, who commanded an army of Vaccaei, Vettones and Celtiberi against the Romans in 193 BC. Obviously by 'king' we must not understand a crowned figure seated on a throne, but (at least in the case of Hilernus) a commander-in-chief elected, like Vercingetorix in Gaul a century and a half later, to lead a temporary coalition of chiefdoms in a revolt. As such he would correspond, in anthropological terminology, to a 'paramount chief' (see chapter 2), but Livy considers 'king' the best way to indicate his extraordinary power. The use of *rex* to mean 'military commander' rather than 'monarch' is apparent also in Sallust (*Hist.* 1.125), who says it was the custom of the Celtiberians to devote their lives to their *reges*.

Roman policy towards indigenous elites has often been seen as one of either replacement or enforced co-operation. It is true that the taking of hostages is a coercive measure, and that occasionally the Romans used violence against the elite, as at *Lagni* in 141 BC when Pompeius executed the nobles and razed the town as a punishment for resistance (Diodorus Siculus, 33.17.3). In general, however, the Romans preferred to use persuasion rather than coercion, attempting to win the support of local leaders and thus of their followers. Although many members of the indigenous elite must have perished on the battlefield in the last two centuries BC, creating a leadership vacuum which would have been filled by others, there is no evidence that the Romans set about replacing the old aristocracy of Central Spain with new men more receptive to the Roman regime. On the contrary, many native leaders co-operated willingly with the conqueror. One of the earliest and most famous of these was Thurru (a classicized spelling of Celtic Turos), whom Livy describes as '*regulus* of these people (the Celtiberians) and by far the most powerful of all the Spaniards'. After being captured by Sempronius Gracchus in 179 BC, he volunteered to become an ally of the Romans (Livy, 40.49.4–7). In examining frontier relations (chapter 3) we have seen numerous examples of towns or chiefdoms which chose to co-operate with the Romans during the conquest period. Undoubtedly the local elite played a large role in convincing their communities to adopt this course of action, though on some occasions there were internal clashes between pro-Roman and anti-Roman factions. The advantage to Rome of a co-operative native leadership is obvious, but why would the leaders of autonomous communi-

ties willingly accept foreign domination? First, it was more attractive for the local elite to make peace with Rome and maintain their positions of authority in the community, than to persist in futile resistance in which they would ultimately be defeated, with probable damage to their prestige, property and lives. On the contrary, by submitting to Roman government, the elite actually made their own authority more secure, because Rome would protect its allies from hostile neighbours. Second, in order to be an effective ruling body, the elite needed not only to maintain control over the socio-political mechanics of their own communities – what one scholar aptly calls ‘internal articulations’ – but to have stable working relations – external articulations – with foreign powers (M.G. Smith 1977: 42). Co-operation with the Romans was the best way to achieve the latter goal. Third, by becoming part of the Roman world and assimilating Roman culture, the elite could increase their own prestige. Adopting Roman behaviour and ideas would enhance their public image by identifying them with the conquering culture, while access to Roman material products would expand the variety of their exotic possessions. Although importation of prestige commodities was less important for social status than control of local production or such elite interactions as marriage and gift exchange (Downs 2000: 201–2), it did bespeak wealth. The presence, in Meseta towns of the Republican period, of such imports as Italian wine (attested by amphoras) and Campanian pottery, and amphoras of salted fish from Andalusia, points clearly to the Romanizing taste of the local elite; such luxuries could not be afforded by the bulk of the populace (Almagro-Gorbea 1992: 278). These costly imports were powerfully attractive items that identified the elite with a cosmopolitan Mediterranean lifestyle (Wells 1999: 265).

Rome relied on local elites as an administrative mechanism that allowed it to control an empire through indirect rule. They were not so much agents of Rome as brokers between local communities and the Roman government, making possible an *arcanum imperii*, ‘the secret of government without bureaucracy’ (Garnsey and Saller 1987: 26). The principle of local self-government by experienced, civic-minded indigenous leaders minimized the need for intervention by Rome. The native aristocracy became part of the Roman client network, and in the time of the Empire was rewarded with social advancement, principally through the extension of Roman citizenship under Vespasian. The elite not only managed the towns for Rome, maintaining order and collecting taxes, but had a Romanizing influence on the inhabitants. They acted as role models for their fellow townsmen, embodying the wealth, prestige and ‘culture’ that could be acquired by those who adopted Roman customs. Hostages also played a significant role in Romanization: returning home after prolonged life among the Romans, no doubt with fascinating stories to tell, these members of the elite helped introduce Roman concepts and a taste for Roman material culture to their communities (Knapp 1977: 145).

New ideas are often adopted quickest by the younger generation. The pre-Roman elite had a role distinction based on age: while the elders formed the local senate, the young men were the prime warriors. Classical sources refer repeatedly to the participation of the Celtiberian *iuventus* ('youth') in war (Livy, 24.49.7, 28.24.4; Sallust, *Hist.* 2.92; Appian, *Iberica* 94; cf. Ciprés 1990). In Imperial times, the *iuventus* was a popular youth organization, mentioned on inscriptions from many parts of the western Empire, including Spain. While there are no actual epigraphic mentions of *iuventus* in the Meseta, a building (possibly a shrine of the Imperial cult) on the north side of the forum at *Ercavica* contained a sculpted portrait of Augustus' grandson Lucius Caesar, 'first of the youth' (*princeps iuventutis*) and perhaps patron of youth organizations throughout the Empire. Moreover, some scholars have proposed that the theatre-gymnasium-bath complex at *Segobriga*, and the steam baths at *Ercavica*, were designed to attract sons of the elite to the Imperial cult (Almagro-Gorbea 1992: 282; Barroso and Morín de Pablos 1997: 54). Although the religious intent remains hypothetical, it is certainly likely that young men would have congregated in the baths and become accustomed to this Roman social habit. We do know that efforts were made to give elite youth a Roman education. Sertorius established a school at *Oscá* in the Ebro valley to educate the sons of the elite from the various chiefdoms, including undoubtedly some from the Meseta, in Greek and Latin learning. Plutarch (*Sertorius* 14) asserts that the parents were delighted with the education their boys received here. This example probably inspired local elites to hire Latin-speaking teachers to set up schools in their own communities, providing at least primary education for their children. Larger cities would also have had secondary education. A native of *Clunia*, L. Memmius Probus, was a *grammaticus Latinus* who died and presumably taught at *Tritium Magallum* in the Ebro valley (*CIL* II, 2892); he would have begun his education in the local schools. The poet Martial would also have learned his letters in his hometown, *Bilbilis*.

One of the characteristics of an elite is competition for status. In the pre-Roman period, competition was based primarily on martial prowess, control of wealth and a large number of dependants. With the establishment of peace, military qualities became less important (except for those who joined the Roman army), though the accumulation and conspicuous consumption of wealth and the importance of patronage continued. Status could be improved by increasing one's wealth or through matrimonial alliance with more powerful families. However, new competitive urges now emerged, including the desire for elected municipal office, rivalry in visible munificence to the community, and for some, aspiration to a career in the Imperial civil service. A new symbolic code appeared, based on Roman honours and privileges. Those who served as magistrates in a town with municipal status bore distinctive titles such as *quaestor*, *aedile* or *duovir*, and automatically received Roman citizenship, the badge of 'arrival' in Roman society, for

themselves and their families. Among the other privileges of citizens, they were permitted to wear a distinctive dress, the toga. The acceptance of these cultural symbols by the indigenous elite tightened their ideological ties to Rome, but also legitimized and strengthened their social status (Keay 1996: 173). Even those who did not achieve magistracies could still be decurions, members of the city council, and some became *flamines*, priests of the Imperial cult. There were priests in other cults, such as that of Jupiter, but for a politician the cult of the ruler held greater prestige and an opportunity to appear close to the emperor. It appears that priests of the Imperial cult could also obtain Roman citizenship, for example C. Calvisius Sabinus of the Galerian voting tribe, *flamen* at *Clunia* in the first century AD, whose father Aion had an unromanized name and was probably a non-citizen (CIL II, 2782).

Ownership of Roman luxury goods such as silver plate, decorated glassware and jewelled finger-rings also served as status symbols of elite males, while their wives would have expensive clothing and jewelry and elaborate coiffures. The number not only of one's clients but also of one's slaves was another important symbol of personal worth. The so-called 'praetorium' at *Arcobriga*, actually an Italian-style house of the Late Republic, was probably the home of a member of the elite (Caballero Casado 1999–2000). Similarly the large urban residences of the Early Imperial period, such as House 1 at *Clunia* (Figure 6.3) and the House of the Aqueduct at *Termes*, may have

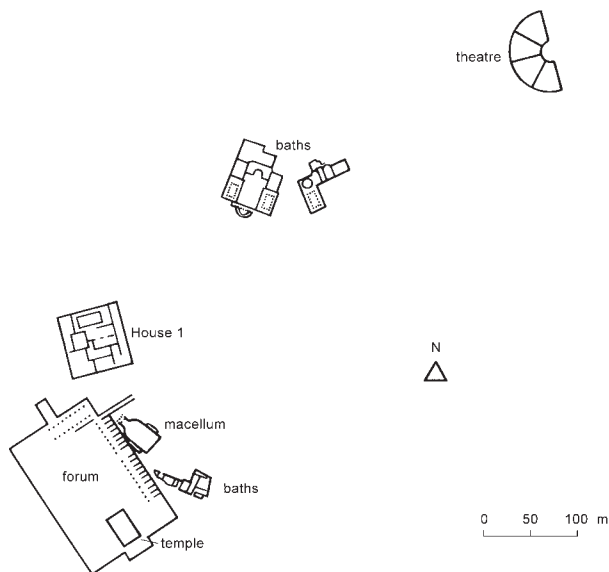


Figure 6.3 Plan of *Clunia* (after Palol 1994).

belonged to wealthy local notables (Taracena 1946; Argente Oliver and Díaz Díaz 1991). The owner of the Sectile House at *Uxama* in the early second century AD must have been quite rich, to afford an *opus sectile* floor of imported marble assembled by an (apparently) Italian or Gallic craftsman (García Merino 1995: 57). Rural villas, such as that of the Iulii Medutticorum near *Uxama*, or the splendid 'Els Munts' villa in Catalunya owned by C. Valerius Avitus of *Augustobriga*, provided a comfortable country retreat (García Merino 1987: 106; Gorges 1979: 408). Elaborate tombs, such as the mausoleum of brick and stone at Toro (ZA) (Sevillano 1978: 292–3 and plate LXI) or the funerary monument at Ciempozuelos (M) (Alföldy 1987b: 65), were a further mark of wealth, as was the deposition of gold ornaments or other valuables in the grave. Prominent members of the elite also received public recognition, in the form of honorific inscriptions and statues set up by the decurions. There are togate statues, presumably of the local elite, at *Segobriga*, *Ercavica*, *Valeria*, *Laminium*, *Consabura*, *Bilbilis* and *Saldania* (Alföldy 1999: 480; Fernández-Layos 1983: 116–18; Fita 1893: 520; Fernández Noguera 1946: 116).

The personal wealth of the elite in the Meseta, as elsewhere in the Roman world, would have come largely from agriculture. In ancient as in modern times, agriculture is in the hands of a small elite: thus in Nero's day, six men reportedly owned half of Africa (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 18.35), and in present-day Canada, 1 per cent of the population controls 80 per cent of the farmland (Romahn 1991). Grain was the principal crop, though olives and other staples were also grown. Livestock would likewise have been a profitable venture, since meat fetched a high price in the Roman world, and animals also yielded leather and wool. Even those who made money from commerce – such as, perhaps, the *equus Romanus* from *Segobriga* who is attested at *Narbo* in Gaul (*CIL* XII, 4536) – may have chosen to invest it in land, as Meseta businessmen did in the Middle Ages (Izquierdo Benito 1985: 118–19). Another important source of wealth was mining. While the gold and silver mines were probably owned by the state, some of the other mines (including copper, iron, lead, salt) and quarries may have been in private hands (chapter 7). The famed iron of the Moncayo region may have brought prosperity to the elite of adjacent *Bilbilis* and *Turiaso*. One of the most lucrative commodities was the *lapis specularis* of *Segobriga*. The profits from exploiting this mineral probably account for the city's lavish public buildings, constructed by a local elite so rich and powerful that it included not only equestrian but senatorial families (Alföldy 1987b: 76). With the growth of an urban economy, the appearance of rural villas, and the construction of public buildings such as had never existed before, Romanization seems to have made the rich even richer.

These public buildings, unprecedented in the pre-Roman period, were due largely to private munificence. For instance, a fragmentary Flavian-period inscription from *Segobriga* seems to record that a certain L. Iulius left money in his will for the construction of the amphitheatre, while the statue

base of the equestrian Manius Octavius Novatus in the theatre may commemorate another civic benefactor, probably the ancestor of the senatorial Octavii who decorated this building (Alföldy 1987b: 81–3). The interest from a legacy left by Iulius Celsus allowed the city of *Ercavica* to build an eight-mile road at a cost of 100,000 sesterces (AE 1987, 663). If this represents one year's interest, the principal may have exceeded a million sesterces, in other words, senatorial status (Alföldy 1999: 476). The paver of the *Segobriga* forum has been mentioned above; another local donor, L. Sempronius Valentinus, contributed an unidentified structure (CIL II, 6338dd). Donation of such works was a form of redistribution of wealth, beautifying cities while stimulating the local economy. Not all benefactions involved architecture or construction. The aedile L. Turellius Geminus erected statues of Germanicus and the younger Drusus at *Segobriga* (CIL II, 3103–4), while the priest Calvisius Sabinus donated grain to the people of *Clunia* when the price was high (CIL II, 2782). The motivation for these gifts may have involved such factors as civic pride, a sense of *noblesse oblige*, the desire for self-promotion by making a conspicuous display of one's wealth (preferably with one's name or image attached), and competition with other members of the elite. Public constructions (especially of recreational facilities) or handouts of food and money may have been financed by candidates wooing public support in a municipal election campaign. If spontaneous benefactions were not forthcoming, the decurions may have pressured wealthy individuals to 'give something back' to the community.

Local magistrates certainly existed in the Julio-Claudian period, as we know from their names and titles (*duovir*, *aedilis*, *quattuorvir*) on the coinage of *Clunia*, *Bilbilis*, *Ercavica* and *Turiaso* (Curchin 1990: 16–17, 199–200, 207–8, 229–30). Other magistrates and priests are named on honorific or funerary inscriptions. Some elite families, like the Grattii and Turellii, were active in more than one Meseta city (Abascal, forthcoming). Perhaps the most promising avenue for social advancement was the Imperial cult. Several members of the local elite of Central Spain, most of them from relatively unimportant towns, achieved the office of provincial priest (*flamen provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris*). The small-town origin of these priests does not mean that the post was undesirable, but rather that it was open to suitable aspirants from any community. *Bilbilis* produced several members of the intellectual elite, including the poet Martial, the orator Licinianus and the jurist Maternus (Syme 1982–3: 257–8). Elite ladies are seldom mentioned, but Pompeia Modesta of *Uxama*, who erected an altar to Mercury covered in sheets of bronze, was undoubtedly a wealthy woman (CIL II, 2819; cf. M.V. Romero Carnicero 1992: 727), while Sempronia Arganta (whose *cognomen* proclaims her indigenous origin) donated, together with M. Iulius Cephalo, presumably her husband, one of the buildings in the forum of *Segobriga* (Abascal, forthcoming). Women from *Laminium* and *Segobriga* are attested as priestesses of the Imperial cult (CIL II, 3231, 4252, cf. 4198).

Members of the elite, if sufficiently Romanized, might advance beyond local politics; assimilation is required to succeed in the dominant culture (R.H. Thompson 1996: 113). The earliest known Mesetan to be admitted to the equestrian order is C. Iulius Italus of *Segobriga*, in the Julio-Claudian period (*CIL* XII, 4536; cf. Alföldy 1999: 476). Others became officers of equestrian rank in the Roman army, such as the men from *Ercavica*, *Attacum*, *Consabura*, *Uxama*, *Clunia*, *Nova Augusta* and Lara de los Infantes (BU) who became prefects and tribunes of auxiliary cohorts, prefects of cavalry squadrons, and in one instance tribune of the Third Legion in Africa (*CIL* II, 4189, 4203, 4211; Hübner 1899a: no. 144; *HEp* 3, 105; *AE* 1972, 282; 1984, 588). By their advancement, such men breached the divide between indigenous aristocracies and the Roman military establishment, transcending the circumscribed power available to local officials. A *praefectus fabrum* at *Segobriga* would have been an equestrian staff member for a high Roman official (Almagro Basch 1984: no. 33; cf. Alföldy 1987b: 83). Another *equus Romanus* is recorded at *Ercavica* (*CIL* II, 3165a).

Several Roman senators are known in the southern Meseta, whose proximity to the relatively more Romanized province of Baetica may have accelerated the assimilation process. At least five of these came from *Segobriga*: an Octavius who was apparently adlected to the Senate under Vespasian and whose family is commemorated in the theatre, and four others who held senatorial offices but whose names are lost (*CIL* II, 3108–9, 3126; Almagro Basch 1984: no. 43). Iulius Celsus, benefactor of *Ercavica*, may also be a senator, as argued above. Q. Caecilius Oinogenus and his homonymous son, both honoured with statues at Rome erected by the *conventus Carthaginensis*, appear to be senators with a Celtiberian *cognomen*; they must therefore come from the southern Meseta (*CIL* VI, 41083–4; Alföldy 1999: 476). Although Harris (2000) would see Oinogenus as a Greek name referring to *oinos* ‘wine’, -genos is a Celtiberian formation (as opposed to Greek -genes), and the first part of the name undoubtedly comes from Indo-European *oino-* ‘one, single’.

‘Emergent elites often co-opt foreign ideologies and their material trappings in an effort to distinguish themselves from those they would rule while proclaiming a link with distant, high-prestige interaction partners’ (Schortman and Urban 1998: 111). The elite of Central Spain definitely conformed to this profile, embracing Roman ideology and material culture to enhance their own prestige, and identifying themselves with Roman society. Romanization permitted them to maintain their authority and increase their power. But this is not the whole picture. While the Romanized elite did seek personal aggrandizement and privilege, they also made invaluable contributions to their community through benefactions and other services, and through acting as a social and administrative buffer between conqueror and subject. In essence, the success and prosperity of the cities depended on the success and prosperity of their elites (Roldán Hervás 1998: 40).

The lower classes

The elite had obvious motives and incentives to become Romanized. The real test of Romanization is whether it infiltrated the lower classes, or whether the elite formed a thin, Romanized veneer overlying a largely unassimilated society. Sempronius Gracchus is said to have settled the poor and given them land, though the poverty of the indigenes may be exaggerated to magnify the benefits of the Roman conquest (Appian, *Iberica* 43; Gómez Fraile 2001: 175–6). In the 90s BC, we read that the entire population of *Colenda* was sold into slavery, and that the people of *Belgeda* incinerated their pro-Roman leaders (Appian, *Iberica* 99–100). By contrast, almost nothing is recorded in literature about lower-class individuals; a rare exception is Tacitus' mention (*Annals* 4.45) of the peasant from *Termes* who attempted to assassinate a Roman senatorial official. We do have about a thousand epitaphs, and dozens of votive inscriptions, of non-elite individuals during the Early Empire, though most of these record little more than their name and age. We can seek evidence of their Romanization (or lack of it) from such clues as their nomenclature and the type of deities they worship. However, such investigations are generally inconclusive, because one encounters a mixture of Roman and non-Roman elements in both personal and divine names. In terms of the material culture unearthed by archaeology, we find *terra sigillata* and other Roman commodities in poor houses as well as rich, though products of indigenous inspiration were also in use. Linguistically, Celtiberian is likely to have survived longer among the lower classes than among the elite, particularly in rural areas.

It is often assumed that the urban elite were the first to become Romanized, and that the rest of the populace then followed, by adopting Latin names and purchasing (within the constraints of their budget) Roman manufactured goods (see especially MacMullen 1984: 165–73). This model is surely simplistic. There must have been exceptions – local elites who resisted Roman rule or accepted it grudgingly, while their subjects were eagerly buying attractive imports from Italy. Undoubtedly Romanization gave greater privileges to the elite than to the masses, thereby widening the socio-economic gulf between them, yet archaeological evidence suggests that the latter group enjoyed a higher level of material prosperity under the Romans than in the Iron II period. Housing evidence likewise suggests that both the lower and upper classes were Romanized (Ellis 2000: 108). Undoubtedly too, the lower classes were exploited, to varying degrees, by the Romanized elite, though perhaps not more so than in pre-Roman times (L.A. Thompson 1982: 401). Tensions between powerful and poor must have been exacerbated in the cities, where the two lived close together (Woolf 2000: 129). Nonetheless, municipal magistrates were elected by the people and had to win votes through handouts and promises. The elite also served as patrons of lower-class clients and were thus involved in reciprocal favours. Though

underrepresented in epigraphy, the lower class formed the vast majority of the population in both town and country. A recent view that 'provincial cities were inhabited principally by local elites' (Wells 1999: 172) is pure moonshine, since cities required a large labour force.

We must, of course, distinguish between free members of the lower class (however lowly their lot) and actual slaves, who were not even acknowledged as persons under Roman law. Many Mesetans must have been enslaved and sent to Italy or other parts of Spain after being captured in the wars of conquest. Slaves from the provinces were needed to replace Italian farmers killed or engaged for protracted periods in military service during the second century BC. So common a practice is rarely recorded by ancient historians. In addition to the *Colenda* incident described above, we are told that in 181 BC, Fulvius Flaccus took 9,700 prisoners after the battles at *Aebura* and *Contrebia Carbica* in Carpetania (Livy, 40.32–3). Appian (*Iberica* 98) attests that all but fifty of the survivors of the siege of *Numantia* were sold by Scipio, though other sources claim rhetorically that no one survived (Florus, 1.34.17; Orosius, 5.7.17–18; Vegetius, 3.10). A chain for prisoners or slaves has been found in the Roman camp at Renieblas (SO) (Schulten 1929: 226 and plate 49.1). An enticing, if unverifiable, suggestion has been made that the 40,000 slaves attested by Polybius in the mines of *Carthago Nova* came largely from the Celtiberian wars (Blázquez Martínez 1987: 556). Once the wars were over, few Celtiberians were enslaved: a single inscription from Rome mentions a slave named Celtiber (*CIL* VI, 27881a), and even he is not necessarily from Central Spain, since such a name could be given to any Spanish slave. Apart from warriors enslaved and deported, there is scant evidence for slavery in Celtiberia: Appian (*Iberica* 94) mentions the 'slaves' of Rhetogenes, a nobleman of *Numantia*, but it is unclear whether these are genuine slaves or lower-class clients. Inscriptions of slaves are found in Central Spain in Early Imperial times, though they are relatively few compared to the free population, and to the large proportion of slaves in the epigraphy of Rome. Are we to conclude that slaves were less numerous in the Meseta than at Rome, or that slaves here were poorer and could not afford an inscription? It seems likely that both these conclusions are true (Curchin 1987b: 75–6), but this does not mean that, in absolute terms, the number of slaves was small (Harris 1993: 26).

Slaves do appear more often in some places than others; for instance, they represent 10 per cent of epigraphically attested individuals at *Segobriga*, and one-third of those at *Toletum* (Haley 1991: 112 n. 372; Alföldy 1987a: 259). One inscription from the former city appears to be a list of slaves, perhaps members of a *collegium* (*CIL* II, 5878; Mangas 1999: 347). It has been suggested that the relatively large number of slaves and ex-slaves (as revealed by their characteristically Greek names) in Madrid province, as compared with neighbouring Segovia and Avila, is due to the larger number of rural villas in that province (Knapp 1992: 403–4); however, many of the Madrid

inscriptions come from the urban context of *Complutum*. Moreover, some Meseta slaves have indigenous or Hispano-Roman names, suggesting a local origin; these are probably *vernae*, slaves born on the master's estate, though their ultimate ancestry is unknown (Alföldy 1987a: 260). Servile epigraphy often names the master of the slave or ex-slave: most of these masters have Roman names, suggesting Romanized members of the local elite – and not, as Crespo Ortiz (1985: 525) claims, immigrants from Italy. Many of their *nomina* and *cognomina* are of the sort common in Spain. Women are amply represented among the slaves, freed slaves and owners (Gallego Franco 1999: 525–6). Alföldy's declaration that those epitaphs to slaves in which no dedicant is named were probably set up by the master (or his agent) because he had no desire to have his name appear next to a slave's (Alföldy 1987a: 260–1) is a circular argument: the dedicants are masters because they are unnamed, and they are unnamed because they are masters. An alternative explanation for this absence of masters' names, that the slaves resented their owners (Crespo Ortiz 1985: 531), is equally implausible. Some of these tombstones were probably erected by fellow-slaves (including quasi-marital partners) who could not afford a lengthy inscription. Only in a few recorded instances do we find a slave's epitaph set up explicitly by the master or by *conservi*, fellow-slaves (Curchin 1987b: 79–80). In one example, Nymphe, slave-woman of Manius, is buried by Hilarus and Fuscus from their slaves' allowance (*de suo peculio*: *HEp* 2, 377).

For various reasons, a slave could be manumitted and become a freedman; his former master was now his patron. These *liberti*, though less numerous than the slaves in our region, provide interesting examples of social relations. In two cases, one at *Complutum* and another at Polán (TO), a man's freed-woman is also his wife (Knapp 1992: no. 133; *AE* 1988, 825). In an inscription from *Bilbilis*, L. Cornelius Samius is described as the freedman of Philomusus (*CIL* II, 3022); since Philomusus is a Greek name and thus denotes servile origin, Samius appears to be the freedman of a freedman. Some ex-slaves, like Ti. Claudius Prosodus at *Clunia*, and P.(?) Aelius at *Segobriga*, were *Augusti liberti*, members of the emperor's extended household which formed the Imperial civil service (*CIL* II, 2780, 3099). Others held the position of *sevir* in the Imperial cult, the only office open to freedmen. Freedmen are mostly attested in an urban context; agricultural slaves had little chance of being manumitted. A large number of ex-slaves and patrons were female (Gallego Franco 1999: 525–6).

Patronage and hospitality

The patron–client system and the right of hospitality were important features of both Celtiberian and Roman social relations. Patronage may be understood as a vertical relationship of inequality, involving voluntary and reciprocal interpersonal obligation between patrons and clients (Eisenstadt

and Roniger 1984: 48–9; T. Johnson and Dandeker 1989: 223–7). In Central Spain, as in Rome, a patron's power and status were judged largely by the number of his clients (Polybius, 2.17.12). While a client might perform various favours in exchange for his patron's protection, the most prominent was battlefield service. Thus the Celtiberian leader Allucius, in 210 BC, was able to raise 1,400 cavalry from among his clients (Livy, 26.50.14). A Celtiberian noble was accompanied in battle by 'comrades', who vowed their lives to his safety and considered it shameful to survive if he were killed (Valerius Maximus, 2.6.11); it seems reasonable to interpret these 'comrades' as clients. A collective tomb of the third or second century BC in the Carratiermes cemetery at *Termes*, comprising the remains of one individual in a central tumulus, surrounded by the graves of several other persons (Argente Oliver and Díaz Díaz 1990: 55), possibly represents a patron and his clients. In addition to personal clientage, there appears to have been some form of clientage between powerful and less powerful chiefdoms. Thus the Tirthi, who were compelled by the neighbouring Belli to participate in the synoecism of *Segeda*, appear to have been a subordinate chiefdom, and Schulten (1914: 124) argued that the Pelendones (who are not named in connection with the revolt of 153–133 BC, despite the fact that their capital *Numantia* was the principal focus of resistance) must have been clients of the Arevaci.

Such relations between chiefdoms ceased to function once all were subordinate to Rome, yet personal clientage survived. During the Sertorian war, both Sertorius and Pompey were able to recruit troops from their extensive *clientelae* in Celtiberia (Salinas de Frías 1991: 221–2). Presumably other governors also had clients in the Meseta and in some cases bestowed their senatorial *nomina* on loyal indigenous elites (Keay 1995: 300). The epigraphic attestation of twelve Sempronii and eleven Valerii at *Segobriga* possibly represents the descendants of clients of the Republican proconsuls Ti. Sempronius Gracchus and C. Valerius Flaccus (Almagro-Gorbea 1992: 276). At *Bilbilis*, Martial had as patron the local lady Marcella, who gave him a house with considerable property (vineyard, grove and meadows) when he returned to his home town (Martial 12.31, cf. 12.21). Her action conforms with Roman practice, the obvious parallel being the Sabine farm given to Horace by Maecenas. Meseta tombstones contain several examples of clients being buried by their patron, and (much more frequently) patrons being buried by their clients (Curchin 1987b: 77–8). At *Turiaso*, two freedmen dedicated a bronze tablet to their patron's *genius* (AE 1997, 935). The dining room of houses and villas was undoubtedly one of the places where patrons and clients interacted, the patron's entertainment of clients at dinner being a ritual expression and confirmation of their relationship (Wallace-Hadrill 1988). The generosity of the patron at dinner may perpetuate the Celtic 'potlatch' custom, though this is beyond proof.

Patrons, at least in Roman times, could act as protectors and benefactors of cities as well as of individuals. The title of patron could be bestowed by a town either in gratitude for, or in prospect of, monetary donations, construction or repair of buildings, or legal defence (Veyne 1997: 92). A former provincial governor or other influential Roman might be a suitable choice. Although the procedure for co-opting a patron, by two-thirds majority vote of the decurions, is enshrined in chapter 61 of the Flavian Municipal Law, the practice began much earlier. L. Livius Ocella, quaestor (in Spain?) around 40 BC and adoptive grandfather of the emperor Galba, was honoured at Rome by the *Segobrigenses*, presumably as their patron (*ILS*, 936; Salinas de Frías 1983b: 34). M. Aemilius Lepidus, governor of Hispania Citerior around AD 11–14, became patron of *Uxama* (*CIL* II, 2820). No explicit testimony survives in our region of municipal patrons appointed under the Flavian regulations. The suggestion that such costly monuments as the Flavian theatre and amphitheatre at *Segobriga*, with their rich sculptural decoration, could represent benefactions by Italian patrons, is certainly a possibility, though the munificence of local magistrates should not be discounted (Keay 1995: 317). Central Spain also has the only bronze tablet in the Roman world in which a unit larger than a city designates a patron. The honorand is C. Marius Pudens, commander of the *Legio VII Gemina* stationed at León, co-opted in AD 222 by the *concilium* (governing council) of the *conventus Cluniensis* ‘because of his many and distinguished services towards one and all’ (*ILS*, 6109). On a tablet of AD 239, a group of *cives Seg(isamonenses)* which appears to be a *collegium* of textile and leather workers, honours its five ‘very deserving, very fortunate, very outstanding and very dutiful patrons’ (*CIL* II, 5812).

Hospitium, the concept of the inviolable guest-friendship, was entrenched in indigenous society. Diodorus Siculus (5.33) records the Celtiberian belief that strangers enjoy divine protection. However, our chief testimony comes from bronze hospitality tokens (*tesserae hospitales*), of which there are numerous examples in Central Spain. Most of these are in Celtiberian language (dating probably to the late second or early-to-mid first century BC), using either the Iberian or, less often, Latin script. They usually adopt the shape of a totemic animal (such as bull, horse or dolphin), less frequently that of a human head, a pair of clasped hands, or interlocking pieces of a solid geometric figure (Figure 6.4). Though the dolphin seems an unnatural choice in the landlocked Meseta, its appearance on indigenous coinage of the region suggests that it had some symbolic meaning. Likewise the *tessera hospitalis* recently found at Poyo de Mara (Z), the site of pre-Roman *Segeda*, in the unusual shape of a bird of prey, recalls a motif shown on that town’s coinage (Anonymous 2001). The Celtiberian documents, whether in Iberian characters or Latin transliteration, normally bear the word (or possibly abbreviation) *kar*, which appears, by analogy with Latin and Irish cognates, to mean ‘friendship’ (Curchin 1994a). The phrase *kortika kar* on some examples is



Figure 6.4 Hospitality tokens (*tesserae hospitales*) in Celtiberian and Latin.

probably the equivalent of *tessera hospitalis*, though the etymology of the first word remains obscure. The tablets differ not only in shape and wording, but in the nature of the participants. Some bear the name of only one party in the guest-friendship, be it a person, town or (rarely) a gentilic unit. It must be assumed that a matching token named the other party, and that each party kept the token with the other's name as proof of their hospitality; the presence of a token of *Libia* (Herramélluri, R) at Fosos de Bayona (CU), of *Virovia* (Briviesca, BU) at Palenzuela (P) and of *Turiaso* at *Vellica* (Monte Cildá, P), supports this assumption. Other tokens give the names of both parties, be they towns, or a town and an individual: for example, the towns *Kortonom* (home of Pliny's *Cortonenses*) and *Alabom* (Ptolemy's *Alaba*), or the town *Arekorata* and Sekilakos, son of Melmu (Curchin 1994b: nos. 2–3, 20, 23). The examples of *Libia*, *Virovia* and *Vellica*, all located outside the Meseta, illustrate the geographic range of Celtiberian hospitality. Establishment of friendship between towns was not only a diplomatic gesture but may also have had economic implications in terms of commerce, transhumance or access to minerals (Sánchez-Moreno 2001). The nearest modern equivalent would be the practice of 'twinning' a town, as a result of previous friendly contact, with one in another country; for instance, Ayllón (SG) is twinned with Sainte Maure de Tourain (France). The absence of tokens naming two individuals prevents us from concluding that these formal documents were used for private guest-friendship; a community seems always to be involved.

Hospitality tokens eventually adopt Latin language, and although animal shapes continue for a while (such as the boar-shaped plaque of AD 14 from *Pisoraca*, on which the *Maggavenses* receive one Amparamus and his family into their *hospitium*, *fides* and *clientela*: AE 1967, 239), these soon give way to rectangular bronze plaques which could be displayed on a wall. The earliest

of these Latin documents in our region is probably the dolphin-shaped *tessera* from Fuentes Claras (TE), of perhaps the mid-first century BC, inscribed *quom Metellineis*, '(friendship) with the people of *Metellinum*', a town in eastern Lusitania (Pérez Vilatela 1989–90). This example names only one party, but there are others that show hospitality between a town and an individual, such as that between *Palantia* and Acces, son of Licirni of *Intercatia*, in 2 BC (*CIL* II, 5763), or between *Intercatia* and M. Titius Fronto of *Turiaso* (Castellano and Gimeno 1999: 362). Though some of the tablets use the term *hospitium*, others *tessera hospitalis*, others simply *tessera*, their intentions are similar. Most of them also provide the names of the local magistrates or envoys who negotiated the pact, as well as a consular date. One such document (Figure 6.5), dated AD 40, is presented by *Clunia* to C. Terentius Bassus, prefect of the *ala Augusta*, an auxiliary unit stationed in the northern Meseta (*CIL* II, 5792). Presumably either Bassus or his squadron performed some valuable service for *Clunia*. From the Hadrianic era comes the *tabula fastigiata* (house-shaped tablet) of Montealegre (VA), in which the representatives of the Magilanci, a kinship group in the territory of *Amallobriga*, renew an earlier (arguably Julio-Claudian) hospitality agreement with the



Figure 6.5 Plaque of hospitality from *Clunia*, AD 40, presented to C. Terentius Bassus, prefect of the *ala Augusta* (Archivo Fotográfico. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid).

Vaccaean town of *Cauca* (Balil and Martín Valls 1988). Though in Latin, both this document and the example from *Pisoraca* contain serious syntactical lapses, which render part of their meaning unclear and point to an imperfect command of Roman legal phraseology (Le Roux 1994: 343–4; Curchin 1994b: 96–8).

Conclusions

As Woolf (1996–7: 347) has pointed out, provincials were not simply assimilated into the Roman social order, but participated in the formation of a new one. The evidence from Central Spain corroborates this view, showing how society became more complex as the region was integrated into the Roman empire. Personal strategies, aspirations and choices contributed to these demographic patterns, as individuals responded in different ways to new opportunities and needs. As indicated by epigraphy, many strove for a more Roman identity by adopting Latin names, erecting Latin inscriptions, and pursuing ‘Roman’ activities such as military service and dedication of monuments to Roman gods or emperors. Political assimilation with Rome was achieved through the extension of Roman and Latin citizenship to major Meseta communities.

The transition from indigenous to Romanized society was considerably eased by the fact that such institutions as patronage, hospitality and possibly slavery were common to both cultures. Roman citizenship was a new feature in our region, but was made attractive by the distinct advantages it conferred, and by Rome’s willingness to extend it, albeit gradually, to deserving provincials. The indigenous social structure was partly broken down, partly incorporated or accommodated into Roman society, for we still find gentilics and indigenous filiation in Latin inscriptions of the Early Empire. Indeed, the division into citizens and non-citizens, and the variety of nomenclature patterns, testify to increased social complexity. The *pax Romana* made geographic mobility easier, enabling individuals to seek careers (largely in mining) in other parts of Spain or to serve with the army abroad.

The tremendous social and economic power of the indigenous elite continued, in Roman guise, to exert its influence on local communities. The elite thrived on competition and display, sometimes spending lavishly on houses and consumer goods to enhance their identities. Citizenship, and the privileged possession of agricultural or mining wealth, reinforced their status and allowed them to make impressive benefactions to their communities. Their elevated social position was further validated through the holding of magistracies and priesthoods. Some became equestrian officers in the Roman army, or members of the Roman Senate, and thus fully integrated into the Roman establishment.

RESOURCE CONTROL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

The Vaccae learned of a different universe when their products travelled to a distant place. . . . In this way they felt part of a new social, ideological and political reality: the Roman world.

(González-Cobos 1988: 79)

Despite their relative poverty by contrast with the Mediterranean basin, the uplands of Central Spain contained significant natural resources, especially minerals. Although these were partly exploited in the protohistoric period, it is under Roman rule that their use is maximized and that the Meseta realizes its full economic potential. While it is inappropriate to speak of economic 'development' or 'progress' – biased terms that presume the indigenous economy was 'underdeveloped' from the viewpoint of the conqueror, even though it may have been sufficient for its own needs – it is undeniable that production and marketing achieved greater complexity in the Roman period. Some specific problems to be considered here are: What changes in mineral exploitation occur in the Roman period? Why does the Meseta produce coinage? How were 'traditional' handicrafts affected by contacts with the Roman world? Lastly, how did the Meseta, with its largely subsistence economy, pay for a wide range of imports?

Mineral deposits: 'exploited' by whom?

The traditional, colonialist view of Romanization holds that an important part of Roman policy was the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the provinces. An untested assumption is made that 'metal was so vital to the Roman state that central control . . . must have existed' (Ørsted 1985: 202). In Spain this view is reinforced by the certain knowledge that the state controlled the rich silver lodes near *Carthago Nova*, the gold and silver workings in Galicia, and the Lusitanian silver and copper mine at *Vipasca* (Curchin 1991: 137–8). Citing anecdotal evidence, Keay (1988: 65–6)

claims that in addition to these major mines, the state gradually seized control of the smaller ones from private operators. Marble quarries throughout the Roman world are also heralded as an imperial monopoly (Fant 1993). Can we therefore conclude that the mines and quarries of Central Spain were under state control?

Mineral exploitation did not, of course, begin with the Romans. Some pre-Roman settlements certainly had flourishing metal industries; for instance, excavations at El Soto de Medinilla (VA) found an abundance of metallic scoria all over the site, suggesting that it was an artisanal area dedicated largely to metal-casting (Escudero Navarro 1988). A possible bronze foundry has been found at the pre-Roman site of Cerro de las Nievas (Pedro Muñoz, CR): in addition to heaps of ash and copper scoria were found holes for posts which may have supported the foundry vessels (Fernández Martínez *et al.* 1994: 117). The frequent presence of iron swords in Celtiberian tombs attests to extensive exploitation of this metal. Celtiberian villages in the Sierra Menera, between Guadalajara and Teruel, have heaps of iron slag attesting to mining activity (Polo Cutando 1999). There was also an iron mine at Ayllón (SG) (Barrio Martín 1999). However, the most important centre for iron smelting was the El Moncayo district near ancient *Bilbilis* and *Turiaso*. At La Oruña (south-west of Vera de Moncayo, Z) a Celtiberian settlement with an important iron foundry was occupied from the early fourth century BC until the Roman conquest, when the site was violently destroyed. In addition to a large quantity of iron scoria, investigators discovered an ovoid smelting furnace 5.3 metres long by 0.8–1.2 metres wide, built into a horizontal gallery in the side of a mountain. Swords and knives found here suggest that La Oruña was devoted to weapons manufacture (Hernández Vera and Murillo Ramos 1985; Bona López and Hernández Vera 1989: 54–7). Iron scoria have also been found at Valdeherrera (the possible site of pre-Roman *Bilbilis*) as well as numerous pre-Roman sites in Teruel province (Borrás Gualis and López Sampedro 1975: 35; Collado Villalba 1990), and a possibly Celtiberian iron mine has been identified near Cueva de Agreda (SO) (Taracena 1941: 59). The Celtiberians are said to have strengthened the metal by burying sheets of iron in the ground, allowing the softer parts to rust prior to reforging (Diodorus, 5.33.4; Plutarch, *Moralia* 510f).

In the early second century BC, when the towns of Celtiberia were already in contact with the Romans, we find the first use of bronze for indigenous coinage in the Meseta. Large-scale production of silver denarii begins around the mid-second century BC and presupposes intensive exploitation of silver mines in the Iberian Cordillera, though the purpose of this coinage is hotly disputed (see below). A Celtiberian inscription mentions an *argatobedim*, which appears to mean 'silver mine' (Untermann and Bayer 1989). The enormous quantities of gold and silver taken from the Meseta as booty or tribute during the Roman conquest bespeak a great accumulation of wealth,

which led Strabo to conclude that the Celtiberians were both numerous and rich. Since no pre-Roman gold mines are known in Central Spain, part of the gold may have been panned from the rivers, while part was imported from Galicia, with the Vaccaeii acting as middlemen and metalsmiths (García-Bellido 1997: 227). The abundant silver in hoards from Driebes (GU) and Salvacañete (CU) is more than 90 per cent pure. Even the Vaccaeii, who never issued coinage and (according to Appian) placed no value on gold and silver, clearly used precious metals as the basis of their wealth, since in 151 BC Lucullus confiscated a hundred talents of silver from the Vaccaean town of *Cauca* (Strabo, 3.4.13; Appian, *Iberica* 52, 54). The increased demand for silver, and the availability of Roman expertise, were factors which led to a sharp increase in mining production in Central Spain in the Late Republic and Early Empire.

This increased production was also due to improved mining technologies introduced by Roman military engineers, as well as the role of the army in prospecting for minerals on behalf of the state (Greene 1992). Gold production in the Meseta was much more limited than in neighbouring Galicia. Indeed, the only important gold mine in our region is that near Navas de Jadraque (GU), where Hadrianic coins point to exploitation in the second century AD. The gold from this mine, which would have amounted to thirteen to sixteen grams per tonne, was obtained by two methods: excavation in the standing rock where veins thirty to fifty centimetres high could be exploited, and working of rocks which had tumbled down the slope of the Cerro del Castellar (Domergue 1987: 191–2). However, the most famous source of gold was the Tajo. Gold-panning in this river began already in pre-Roman times and may account for some of the gold artifacts found on Iron Age sites in the Meseta (Fernández Nieto 1971). Martial (12.18.9) refers to the gold of *Bilbilis*, though whether this means the mines in El Moncayo or panning in the river Jálón is uncertain.

The silver and copper mine at Cabezo la Reina, near San Rafael (SG) in the Sierra de Guadarrama, boasted a yield of 1.2 kilograms of silver per tonne of copper (Domergue 1987: 470). Ancient silver mines are also reported (but await thorough exploration) at Peñalcázar (SO) and Consuegra (TO) (Taracena 1941: 135; Aguirre 1973: 77; Ramos Ramos 1988: 64), as well as Calcena in the Moncayo district (Z) and Hiendelaencina on the river Bornova (GU) (Lostal Pros 1980: 143; Abascal 1982: 103). Copper was mined in the Sierra de Guadarrama, not only at Cabezo la Reina (mentioned above), but also at Cerro de los Almadenes near Otero de los Herreros (SG) where ceramic evidence suggests exploitation from about 10 BC to the 40s AD. The veritable mountain of ancient scoria at the latter site has an estimated volume of 50,000 cubic metres (Domergue 1979; 1987, 467–9). There were also copper mines in the districts of Calatayud (Z) and Canales de la Sierra (R). Another Roman copper mine with foundry is known at Estrella near Pardos (GU), and ancient (possibly Roman) copper mines at

Colmenarejo (M) and in the Albarracín district (TE) (Domergue 1987: 51, 192, 354, 484, 490–1; Collado Villalba 1990: 25–6). Bronze production required tin, though the only known source in Central Spain in ancient times was the Montes de Toledo (Ramos Ramos 1988: 64). There was a Roman lead mine at Neila (R), and the lead ore (galena) found around Consuegra (TO) may also have been exploited (Domergue 1987: 51; Fernández-Layos 1983: 92).

By far the most important metal mined in the Meseta was iron. The increased demand for this metal in the Roman period for such varied items as nails, agricultural tools and surgical instruments translated into intensification of mineral extraction. The chief iron-working district was still El Moncayo, where the ore has an iron content as high as 60 per cent. A host of literary sources (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 34.144; Justin, 44.3.8; Martial, 1.49.12, 4.55.15; Isidore, *Etymology* 16.20–1) refer to the superior temper of the steel produced at nearby *Bilbilis* and *Turiaso* by plunging the metal into the icy waters of their respective rivers, the *Salo* (Jalón) and *Chalybs* (Queiles). Roman coins of *Bilbilis* depict the god Vulcan (or possibly Sucellus) wielding a hammer, or a naked miner holding a suspension lamp (García Garrido and Lalana 1982; García-Bellido 1986: 18–19), while actual blacksmith's tools (tongs and a small anvil) have been found in the neighbouring province of Soria (Manrique Mayor 1980: 156, 163). Another steel-producing district was around *Toletum*, presumably using iron mined in the Montes de Toledo; the Augustan poet Grattius (*Cynegetica* 341) praises the excellent hunting-knives (*cultri Toletani*) produced here. Iron smelting is also indicated by finds of iron scoria in Roman contexts around *Segobriga* (including a large, pre-Augustan deposit at the entrance to the city, perhaps related to weapons manufacture during the Sertorian war) and at numerous sites in the Sierra de Albarracín (M. López 1949–53, vol. 1: 40–1; Sadek 1975; Almagro-Gorbea 1992: 277; Collado Villalba 1990). Smelting at *Uxama* is attested by reports of iron and copper scoria and fragments of clay moulds (Loperráez 1788, vol. 2: 299–300; Zapatero 1968: 78). Scoria have also been found at several Roman villas such as Saúca (GU), Santa Cruz (VA) and Villoldo (P), and a sandstone mould for casting bronze was found at the villa of Villaproviano (P) (Cortes Álvarez and Ríos 1979: 56–8).

While we thus know the locations of several mines exploited in the Roman period, we are poorly informed as to how and by whom they were controlled. We know from the mining regulations of *Vipasca* that mining operations could be leased to contractors; we also know that the lead mines near *Carthago Nova* were controlled by local elite families (Curchin 1991: 138–9); but this proves nothing for the Meseta. Possible evidence of state control has emerged at Canales de Molina (GU) with the discovery of a Roman military camp, apparently intended to guard the local copper mines (García-Gelabert 1984: 292n.); this practice finds parallels in the forts established near copper mines in Lusitania (Edmondson 1987: 69). However,

mines could also be operated by local entrepreneurs such as municipal magistrates, who through landowning might possess not only the property on which they were located, but also the capital and labour force necessary to exploit them. If mines were leased by government contract, the local elite are again likely to have been the operators, since the law of *commercium* restricted the holding of such contracts to Roman citizens. It is therefore likely that many of the mines were either owned or contracted by members of the indigenous elite.

Of minerals other than metals, Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 31.80) refers to the salt of *Egelasta*, which was extracted in blocks and used for medicinal purposes; the location of *Egelasta* is disputed, but salt mines are known at Iniesta, Minglanilla and Monteagudo de las Salinas, all in CU (Coello 1894: 10–11; Palomero Plaza 1987: 178, 223). The importance of salt in food preservation and its consequent value as an export commodity are well known; it was, moreover, needed for consumption by livestock, for the tempering of iron, and for curing hides. Small-scale salt production in the Celtiberian period is evidenced by flat ceramic vessels from the district of Molina de Aragón (GU) which may have been used for both the evaporation and transport of the mineral (Arenas Esteban and Martínez Naranjo 1999). In the Salado valley north-west of Sigüenza (GU), and in the Henares valley between Sigüenza and Medinaceli (SO), have been found open-air evaporating basins for extraction of salt from well water, which may date to the Roman period (Morère 1991). Salt was also readily available from the saline lakes near Villafáfila (ZA) (Esparza Arroyo 1999: 100). The bronze inscription from Fuentes de Ropel (ZA), giving detailed information on the boundaries between several local villages in the first century AD, perhaps reflects the need to regulate control of salt production around these lakes (*HEp* 5, 874; Mayer *et al.* 1998: 164–7). The sources of minerals used in preparing fresco pigments in the Meseta have never been studied, but the presence of iron and copper mines suggests a local origin for the ferric oxides used to produce red and yellow, and for the copper silicate or copper carbonate used to make green. The famous *lapis specularis* of *Segobriga* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.160) corresponds to selenite (translucent lamellate gypsum), of which there are numerous mines in the neighbourhood (Palomero Plaza 1987: 102–6, 121, 171, 228–9); it may have been used in place of glass for mirrors or windows. The profitability of this industry is suggested by the rich monumental architecture and the presence of equestrian and senatorial families at *Segobriga*. A votive inscription attests the presence here of a known *procurator Augusti* of mines, C. Iulius Silvanus (Abascal and Alföldy 1998: 166), while attestations of natives of *Uxama* may represent miners of the gypsum (Haley 1991: 98).

Stone-quarrying experienced a definite boom in the Roman period. The pre-Roman inhabitants had little use for stone except to build ramparts and house foundations; and, given the abundance of rock in the Meseta, it was

relatively easy to gather field stones or to cut stone blocks *in situ*. Stone for the ramparts of hill-forts could efficiently be obtained by first cutting a defensive ditch into the bedrock. However, since the height of the wall would invariably exceed the depth of the ditch, additional stone was necessary. Thus at the site of El Castillo (Orihuela del Tremedal, TE) huge granite blocks for the rampart came partly from excavation of the ditch and partly from a quarry cut in a gully west of the site (Collado Villalba 1990: 27). In the Roman era, a large quantity of stone was needed for public architecture, road and street construction, tombstones, sarcophagi, statues and reliefs. Fine stone was not always needed; for instance, the streets of *Numantia* were paved with large, rough river stones and smaller, trimmed field stones. But local stone was often inappropriate for sculptural or epigraphical treatment because it was either friable or easily abraded by exposure to the elements. The result of using such materials is evident from the notorious illegibility of sandstone epitaphs; and granite, though hard, frequently contains large granules which make it unsuitable for fine carving. Romanized taste therefore created a demand for the harder limestones, especially marble, which had been avoided by pre-Roman quarrymen. Marble, limestone, sandstone and granite were all used for inscriptions, but the proportions varied according to the availability of local stone (Figure 7.1). We know from research elsewhere in the Empire that the Romans introduced a number of special, denticulated tools to facilitate the quarrying of hard stone. Unfortunately there have been no reported finds of such tools in Central Spain, though the marks left by picks and chisels are visible in some quarries (Rabal 1889: 112; Argente Oliver 1991b: 231).

Much of the marble used in the northern Meseta came from three sites in Soria province: Espejón, Espeja de San Marcelino, and Cantalucia. The

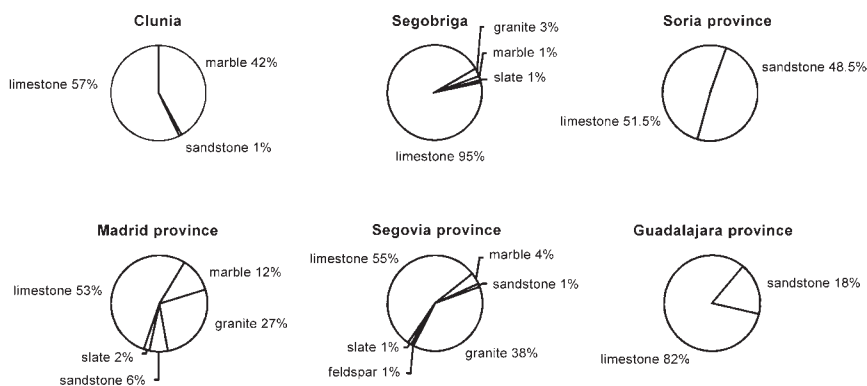


Figure 7.1 Epigraphic stone types at two major sites and in four modern provinces.

Espejón stone in particular comes in a variety of hues (primarily reds and yellows, but also black, grey and white) and was extensively used at *Clunia* and *Uxama* in the first two centuries AD for public buildings, private inscriptions and mosaic tesserae (Cisneros Cunchillos 1988: 61). This is surprising, since most marble quarries were under imperial control; however, the emperor sometimes made gifts of marble for public buildings (Fant 1993: 155–6). But an alternative explanation is that the Meseta quarries were not under imperial control at all. Sorian marble was not in the same league as the high-quality varieties from Chemtou, Paros and Laconia, so its production may have escaped the net of the imperial treasury. This would mean that the marble quarries of Central Spain were in private hands.

Softer limestones from Hontoria de la Cantera and Los Pedregales (both BU) were used at Lara de los Infantes and *Clunia* respectively (Calvo 1916: 96–101; Abásolo 1985: 305), and soft sandstone for construction was extracted from quarries at *Termes* (Argente Oliver 1990b: 131). In Zamora province, some limestone came from the Roman quarry at Villalonso, north-east of Toro (Navarro Talegón 1980: 3), though the marbles used at the Roman site of Villalazán were transported from a quarry outside our area, San Adrián near the Portuguese border (Sevillano 1978: 321–2). Some of the stone used for inscriptions at *Palantia* is also thought to have come from Zamora province, though *Palantia* did at least have extensive sand quarries with neatly organized galleries, which have yielded Roman pottery (Fita 1900: 507–8; Navarro García 1930–46, vol. 4: 110). In the east, *Nertobriga* had limestone quarries in Roman times. At *Bilbilis*, the flagstones in the forum and columns from the theatre were made of limestone from the quarries at nearby Anchís, while mortar was produced by burning limestone from the river Ribota (Aguilera Aragón *et al.* 1995). A brick-lined lime kiln (two metres high by 165 centimetres in diameter), full of limestone fragments and bones, was found at the Roman villa of Villaverde Bajo (M). In the southern Meseta there was a Roman granite quarry at La Mesa de Valhermoso (Sonseca, TO), while the Los Molares quarries at Alhambra (CR) produced the whetstones of *Laminium* known to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 36.165; Caballero Zoreda and Sánchez-Palencia Ramos 1983: 396; Blázquez y Delgado and Sánchez Albornoz 1917: 23). Adjacent to *Consabura* is the hill known as Cerro Calderico, composed of conglomerates, slate, limestone, sandstone and quartzite; that this was quarried in Roman times is suggested by finds of *terra sigillata* in the cuttings (Fernández-Layos 1983: 105–6). Coloured marbles were quarried at Iniesta and Vellisca (both CU) (Palomero Plaza 1987: 126, 161). At *Segobriga*, the creamy limestone quarried near the sanctuary of Diana was abundantly used in the Roman city (Cisneros Cunchillos 1988: 68), while the crumbly limestone of *Valeria* was exploited for sand and building rubble (Fuentes Domínguez 1991: 269).

Towards a monetary economy

It is difficult to conceive of a world without cash, yet money was not produced at Rome until the third century BC, nor in Central Spain until the second. Prior to that time, the normal medium of exchange was probably barter, using grain, livestock, or a weight of metal. Strabo (using outdated information from the ethnographer Posidonius) reports that the inhabitants of the Spanish interior, lacking coinage, 'use the exchange of goods, or give pieces cut from beaten silver'. Even after coinage became widespread in the Meseta, the Vaccaeï were slow to adopt it. Although Celtiberian coins have been found at *Palantia* and *Cauca*, no Vaccaean town ever minted coinage. This was not due to lack of metal, since (as mentioned above) *Cauca* was able to pay a hundred talents of silver to Lucullus, and the three hoards found at Padilla de Duero (VA) contain silver torcs and other jewelry as well as denarii from various Spanish mints (Delibes de Castro *et al.* 1993). Yet apart from these hoards, there are no pre-Roman coins in Valladolid province, and only one – a denarius of the mint *barskunez* found at El Perdigón – in eastern Zamora (Martín Valls and Delibes de Castro 1977: 301–2). Either the Vaccaeï preferred barter to money, or silver jewelry was used as currency. Other forms of non-monetary exchange must also have existed, such as diplomatic gifts between elites, the lending of goods to neighbours, and perhaps potlatch, the conspicuous destruction or giving away of wealth to impress others, but such transactions can rarely be detected. Exotic artifacts, such as a Punic bronze jar with palmette handle at *Cauca*, an Egyptian schist vase with hieroglyphic inscription at Culebras (CU), and two gold torcs at Jaramillo Quemado (BU), are possible examples of prestige gifts (Blanco García 1986: 4–5; Pérez Die 1983; Osaba y Ruiz 1957).

Coinage may first have reached our region in the form of mercenary pay. Celtiberian soldiers were possibly hired by Athens in the fifth century BC; they were certainly employed by Carthage in the Second Punic war (Curchin 1995c: 51). Hispano-Punic coins of the third century have been found in the Driebes (GU) hoard and at Fosos de Bayona (CU), though we cannot be sure how they got there (Raddatz 1969: 222; Alfaro Asins 1982: 83). Production of indigenous ('Iberian') coinage begins on the east coast in the late third century, and spreads into the interior in the second (Villaronga 1979: 119–35). The earliest Meseta issues are the bronze asses, semisses and quadrantes minted on the Iberian weight standard by *sekaiza* (*Segeda*) in the early second century, though there is some dispute among numismatists as to which of that town's issues appeared first. They bear on the obverse a curly-haired male head (possibly a god or hero) facing right, and on the reverse a mounted lancer, also facing right, with the name of the mint beneath in Celtiberian characters. The lancer, sometimes suspected of being copied from the Dioscuri coinage of Rome, may rather represent a typical Celtiberian cavalryman, or perhaps a warrior god, such as we see on coins of Gaul and

Britain. Whatever their significance, these obverse and reverse designs would dominate Celtiberian coinage until the end of the Republic.

The indigenous coins *par excellence* are the silver denarii issued by a variety of mints, together with bronze coins representing fractions of the denarius, though not all mints struck both. It was once thought that the bulk of these were issued during the Sertorian war, but Jenkins (1965) and Villaronga (1987) have shown, on the basis of the datable Roman denarii in the same hoards as Meseta coins, that most were minted in the second century BC. The purpose of these silver issues is much disputed. We may dismiss at once the premise that they were produced to facilitate trade (Filip 1978: 431), since this was never a motive for minting ancient coins; the use of coins for commercial transactions was an incidental, secondary result. Another hypothesis, inspired by Gallic usage, is that coins were used by the native aristocracy as a means of storing their wealth, meeting social obligations (such as dowries and diplomatic gifts) or increasing their prestige by dispersing wealth to clients (Knapp 1979a: 468). However, we must note that whereas pre-conquest Gaulish coins were minted by 'states' (*civitates*), presumably on the authority of the ruler, whose name sometimes appears on them, Spanish coins were issued by towns (*oppida*), presumably on the authority of the local elders, and cannot be seen as personal prestige issues by members of the nobility. Moreover, the early Gaulish coins are of gold; silver could still have a prestige value, but can also be seen as a transition between prestige coinage and utilitarian coinage (Wightman 1985: 21). Gold coins were never issued in Central Spain, and only occur (at about thirty sites) during the Roman period (Curchin 1994c).

The third hypothesis, and the one favoured by most scholars, is that Celtiberian coinage was intended for official payments such as tribute to Rome or the hire of troops. It was indeed through payment of taxes and troops in cash that the provinces acquired a monetized economy (Hopkins 1980). Since towns acted as administrative centres, tribute (*stipendium*) from the surrounding districts could have been collected at these central places and converted to silver coinage. However, although we know from literary evidence that Rome sometimes did receive Spanish tribute in coin – whether in Roman or 'Iberian' coins is not specified – it is unclear why Celtiberians would bother to mint coins for this purpose when they could simply pay in bullion. One possibility which has been suggested is that these silver coins, and the bronze ones of the preceding series, were used largely to meet the payroll of the Roman army of occupation. Since soldiers were paid individually – in bronze until the mid-second century, and subsequently in silver – large numbers of coins would be needed, and it was easier to produce them at local centres than to ship silver to Rome as bullion and back to Celtiberia as denarii (Crawford 1985: 94–6; Richardson 1996: 75). The fact that Spanish silver coins use the same weight standard as the Roman denarius seems to support this idea. Against it, however, we may note that

the weight may result from indigenous copying of Roman denarii already in circulation, rather than a demand from Rome that the *stipendium* be paid in local coins on the denarius standard. Also, coins seem to have been issued at irregular intervals with tremendous differences in volume between mints, a situation incompatible with annual, uniform and compulsory *stipendium* payments in specie. Moreover, if these coins were used to pay Roman or allied troops, how do we explain the dearth of indigenous silver coinage in Scipio's camps at *Numantia*? A compromise position is offered by M. Gomis (2000: 88), who sees the issues of *sekaiza* in the early second century as tribute payments, and the flurry of local coinages in the mid-second century as payments to Roman troops during the conflict of 143–133 BC. However, this does not resolve the objections already raised, and there is the further question of why Rome would want tribute (as opposed to troop payments) rendered in bronze coins rather than precious metals.

Alternatively, if the coins were issued by rebellious towns, of which *Segeda* was the leader, to pay native troops fighting *against* the Romans during the Celtiberian wars, why were denarii also struck by towns on the east coast and in the Ebro valley, which remained loyal to Rome? The fact that the coins of these regions show the cavalryman carrying a palm branch, while those further inland carry a lance, has been interpreted as representing peaceful versus combat areas. However, it has also been remarked that the palm branch can be a warlike symbol (the palm of victory), an idea perhaps supported by the fact that the rider wears a helmet and has two phalera-like objects, the equivalent of bravery medals, on his chest (Villaronga 1966: 307; Blanco García 1987b: 57). Since we have no secure way of determining whether the coins were issued before, during or after the Celtiberian wars, these problems are unlikely to be resolved soon. In any event, there is no real evidence that the Romans imposed coinage on the towns or controlled the mints. Whatever their motives for coining, the towns probably acted independently to meet their own needs (Knapp 1979a: 471–2); and some, such as *Numantia* and *Termes*, did not coin at all. The evidence of hoards further suggests that Celtiberian coins were not primarily intended for Roman use: coins in Meseta hoards are predominantly indigenous, while those on the coast (where the soldiers usually wintered and where most of the Romans in Hispania Citerior lived) are predominantly Roman. Nonetheless, Celtiberian production and use of coinage does show the penetration of Mediterranean cultural practices into the Spanish interior, and more specifically the influence of the Roman denarius as a weight standard.

While numerous second-century mints are named on the coins, many of them appear (from their typology or distribution) to be situated in the Ebro valley or on the east coast. Of those in Central Spain, several represent towns of known location: *bilbiliz* (*Bilbilis*), *konboutu-ikezankom* (*Complutum*), *kolounioka* (an adjective meaning 'of *Clunia*'), *nertobis* (*Nertobriga*), *sekaiza* (*Segeda*) and *turiazu* (*Turiaso*). The mint *sekotiaz-lakaz* (Ptolemy's *Segortia*

Lanka) was situated at Langa de Duero (SO) (García-Bellido 1997: 237). From the distribution of their coins, *konterbia-karbika* seems to be Fosos de Bayona (CU); *arekorata*, whose coins are found on ten sites in Soria province, is perhaps Agreda (SO); and *terkakom* may be Tierga (Z), as suggested by the similarity of names and an occurrence of this coin there; *tabaniu* and *orosi* should lie in Teruel province, especially if the latter is the place referred to as *en orosei* ('at Orosi?') on a Celtiberian inscription from Peñalba de Villastar (TE); *titiakos* perhaps lies (to judge from its name) in the territory of the Titthi, in the eastern Meseta. However, the coins of *usamuz* and *arkailios*, sometimes identified with *Uxama Argaela*, have not been found there, nor are there coins of *sekisamos* at *Segisamo*. The ascription of the mint *erkauika* to *Ercavica* in the southern Meseta is problematic, as there are sound arguments for locating it in the Ebro valley (García-Bellido 1997: 230n.; Burillo 1998: 201). The distribution of the issues of *sekobirikez*, representing 40 per cent of the pre-Roman coinage of the northern Meseta, reveals that it is not the *Segobriga* of the southern Meseta but a homonymous and otherwise unattested town of the north, located in or near Burgos province. Attempts to identify it with *Segovia* of the Pelendones, or to assume that the mint of *Segobriga* moved with the Sertorian army, or that the population of *sekobirikez* was relocated to *Segobriga*, are equally implausible (Solana Sáinz and Sagredo San Eustaquio 1998: 375; Almagro-Gorbea 1992: 277; García-Bellido 1994: 246).

While the circulation of coins from some of these mints was very restricted, others enjoyed a wide geographic distribution. Coins from the five most prolific mints are found all over the Peninsula and sometimes beyond (Appendix 1). Similarly, indigenous coins from many mints in the Ebro valley, the east coast and (to a lesser degree) Andalusia have been found in Central Spain. However, finds of Meseta coins outside Central Spain, or of non-Meseta coins within it, illustrate only the distance that these coins managed to travel; they are not evidence for interregional commerce (Collis 1984: 154).

Although even relative dating can be problematic, coin issues by at least some of the Meseta mints continued into the first century BC. For instance, because of their reduced weight (about 3.5 grams instead of 3.8–3.9) and their presence in datable hoards, most of the denarii of *turiazu* and all those of *sekobirikez* seem to have been minted during the Sertorian war (Villaronga 1987: 16, 21). Meanwhile, the coinage of Rome, whether spread by the army, government purchases or private transactions, becomes widespread in Central Spain during the Late Republic. Though published reports do not always specify the date or metal of the coins, Roman Republican silver denarii and bronze fractional coinage are found on about fifty sites, including thirteen with hoards, with the greatest concentration in the eastern provinces of Zaragoza, Soria and Cuenca. While the circulation of Roman coins alongside indigenous ones – they are often found in the same hoards – may

represent a 'passive' form of Romanization, a more decisive step is taken when mints abandon the Iberian alphabet in favour of Latin characters. This occurs around the mid-first century BC at *Clunia* (spelled CLOUNIOQ, transliterating the indigenous legend *kolounioko*), *Segobriga* (spelled SEGOBRIS) and *Toletum* (abbreviated TOLE). The coins of *Toletum* bear on the obverse EX S.C. and either the name CELTAMB or C. VICIVS C.E., the latter name written in retrograde letters. The formula 'ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)' seems to be borrowed from Roman denarii of the 50s, suggesting that the coinage may date to the civil war of 49–45 BC (Villaronga 1979: 242; Amela Valverde 1998). Whether this formula is intended to indicate that the coins were authorized by the Senate of Rome or the local senate of *Toletum*, or whether it was copied blindly from a Roman exemplar, is uncertain, but Celtamb(atus) and C. Vic(c)ius appear to be local magistrates, the latter of whom bears Romanized *duo nomina*.

In the latter part of the first century BC, the towns of *Segobriga* and *Segovia* issue coins bearing the head of Augustus, and on the reverse the traditional lancer, but with the name of the town in Latin letters (Figure 7.2). Three other Augustan mints dispense with the horseman altogether, showing on the reverse a bull (*Ercavica*), a feminine head (*Turiaso*) or a small wreath encircled by the names of the town's *duoviri* (*Bilbilis*). All these mints except *Segovia* continue under Tiberius, the reverse displaying a bull or wreath, and sometimes the names of local magistrates. *Clunia* also resumes minting under Tiberius. One of the *Turiaso* issues has the usual head of Tiberius on the obverse, and on the reverse Divus Augustus seated on a throne, holding a sceptre and thunderbolts like Jupiter (Villaronga 1979: fig. 1053). Only *Bilbilis*, *Ercavica* and *Segobriga* issue coins under Gaius (Caligula), and none



Figure 7.2 Augustan bronze coin of *Segovia*, late first century BC. Obverse: head of Augustus, with legend C.L. Reverse: mounted cavalryman and legend SEGOVIA (Museo de Segovia).

thereafter – at least, not bearing the town's name, since imitation coins of Claudius found at *Clunia* may have been minted in our zone (Gurt Esparraguera 1975). The gradual decline in the number of Meseta mints suggests that the cessation of this coinage was not imposed by Imperial decree but was a local decision (Richardson 1996: 146); by now there were sufficient Roman coins in circulation to render issues by individual Spanish towns unnecessary. Nonetheless, some of these municipal issues had widespread circulation, even beyond the Pyrenees, though they are poorly represented in Baetica (Andalusia), which had many mints of its own in this period (Appendix 2). The end of indigenous minting and the wholesale adoption of Roman imperial coinage – even among the *Vaccae*, as numerous finds demonstrate – mark the completion of monetization.

Imperial coinage, whether local municipal issues or those minted at Rome, served not only a monetary end but an ideological one. Bearing the emperor's portrait on the obverse, they disseminated the ruler's image throughout the Meseta, making him recognizable to thousands who had never met him. The reverse types of the coins often carried subtle propaganda messages. Whether or not Mesetans understood these ideological cues, by using the coins they tacitly acknowledged the emperor's authority as the source of the medium of exchange.

Crafts and the consumer market

Industrial production began as, and in some cases remained, a subsidiary activity of agriculture. Tools, baskets, clothing and pottery could be made on the farm, and metalsmiths may originally have been part-time craftsmen whose primary job was food production (Wells 1984: 22). With the growth of Iron Age towns, there was sufficient demand for manufactured goods to turn certain artisans (including presumably potters, metalsmiths and stoneworkers) into full-time specialists, either as a 'cottage industry' in their homes, or in separate workshops. Occasionally such workshops are recovered archaeologically: for instance, in sector 'BC III' at *Bilbilis*, excavators found a room measuring 6 by 2.5 metres, with a rectangular basin capable of storing 200 litres of liquid, which appears to be an artisanal installation, perhaps attached to someone's house (Martín Bueno 1991: 175 and figs. 11–13). The Roman period brought improved tools and techniques, as well as new markets for provincial products, such as Celtiberian cloaks and swords. To meet these demands, and to pay Roman taxes, native communities underwent a manufacturing expansion, which has been strikingly, if inaccurately, termed 'primitive industrialization' (Crumley 1974: 80). Partly because of this increased production, and partly because of the importation of a variety of goods from other regions, Roman-period sites tend to have a much higher density of artifacts, especially metal and glass products, than pre-Roman ones (Hopkins 1980; Greene 1992). Roman lifestyles created a need for new

types of artisans, such as mosaicists and lamp-makers. Craftsmen, especially potters, sometimes proudly display their Latinized names on their products. Manufacturing was normally confined to small workshops with a limited output designed for local consumption; and, contrary to the modern industrial model, it was usually located in rural areas rather than the city (Whittaker 1990: 113). Although the more profitable industries may have been controlled by local elites, most production would have remained in the hands of independent craftsmen.

The Celtiberians were skilled at metalwork, including the production of gold and silver jewelry, silver and bronze coinage, decorative bronze fibulas and belt plates, bronze inscriptions such as the Luzaga tablet, and the famed steel of the Moncayo district. Lack of evidence for workshops suggests that metalsmiths were mobile, carrying their tools and materials about (Wells 1999: 42). If the Second Iron Age is characterized by a wide range of iron tools and weapons, there is an even greater variety of these in the Roman period, as new ideas and needs penetrate the Meseta, contributing to greater cultural complexity.

Excavations on the Cerro de la Muela (Carrascosca del Campo, CU), eight kilometres from *Segobriga*, revealed a large rectangular building, 95 by 80 metres, with walls of unusual thickness (average 1.5 metres). There was a square tower in each corner, a portico of sandstone pillars on the east, a complex system of water conduits and drains, and four basins lined with hydraulic cement in the north-west corner. The finds included iron agricultural tools, dagger blades, bronze fibulas, horse bones, loom weights, *terra sigillata* (chiefly of the second and third centuries), coins ranging in date from Caligula to Constantine, and several slag heaps, which were shown by physical and chemical analysis to represent various stages in the smelting of iron and copper. The diverse combination of artifacts suggests a villa complex whose activities included metal processing. One possibility suggested by the excavator is a foundry for the manufacture of weapons (Sadek 1975). However, since there were no Roman troops stationed near *Segobriga*, the rural installation at Cerro de la Muela may have produced something more mundane, such as farming implements.

Textiles were produced largely in the home, as shown by the large number of loom weights found in houses, yet the quantities produced were enormous. At *Intercatia* in 151 BC, Lucullus demanded and received 10,000 cloaks (Appian, *Iberica* 54). The clay loom weights, often weighing in excess of a kilogram, were rectangular or truncated-pyramidal in shape, with a circular hole at the upper end allowing them to be suspended; and sometimes the weight is stamped with a manufacturer's mark. There is little difference between pre-Roman and Roman loom weights, though some of the latter have Latin markings. The looms used were normally vertical, since the rooms in which weights are found are usually too small for a horizontal loom (Arlegui Sánchez and Ballano Soriano 1995). An even larger number of

sites has yielded clay spindle whorls, used in spinning. They come in four typical shapes: truncated-conical, double truncated-conical, spherical and cylindrical. A bone spindle was found at *Arcobriga*, and an iron shuttle at *Numantia* (Cerralbo 1987: plate 57.2; Manrique Mayor 1980: 140). Textile working is often assumed to be a woman's craft, and indeed a relief on the stele of Atta Altica, from Lara de los Infantes (BU), depicts her working on a loom (Figure 7.3) (Abásolo 1974: plate 70.2). However, studies of the cloth industry in Italy and the provinces show that most commercial weaving was done by men. The woven cloth still needed to be stitched together. Sewing needles made of bone or bronze have been found on various sites. Needles, as well as punches, may also have been used for leatherworking, and an iron needle found at *Ercavica* was perhaps for weaving esparto (Osuna Ruiz 1976b: 108 and fig. 64.1).

Bricks and tiles were of course produced in the towns – for example, the *officina Saturnini* whose brick and tile stamps are plentiful at *Termes* under the Early Empire (Casa Martínez 1983) – but the known kilns mostly coincide with country villas. Sites with suitable clay and sufficient lumber enabled estates to produce their own bricks and tiles (which were frequently made in the same kiln), and any surplus might be sold to their neighbours. Numerous brick and tile kilns have been catalogued in Palencia province (including Early Imperial ones at *Pisoraca*, as well as kilns on villa sites) and there is an extensive catalogue of brick and tile stamps in the northern Meseta (Juan Tovar and Pérez González 1987: 662–3; Mañanes 1983: 277–94). However, since many villas span the Early and Late Empire, it is often difficult to date these products. In the southern Meseta there were brick and tile kilns at Albuillas (CR) and near Aranjuez (M) (Mélida 1917: 391–2; Fuidio 1934: 66–7).

Pottery, because it happens to survive, has received a disproportionate amount of scholarly attention as compared with organic products such as

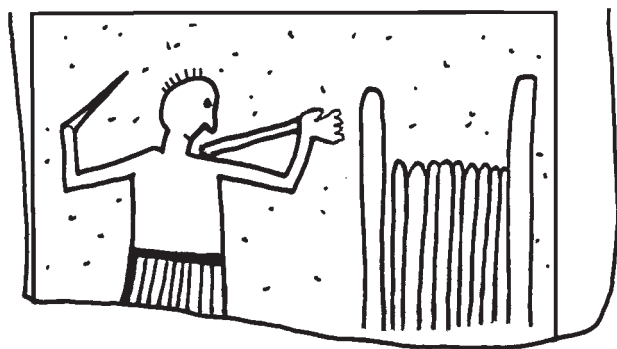


Figure 7.3 Relief from Lara de los Infantes (BU), showing a woman weaving.

leather goods, basketry and cloth, which have left no archaeological trace. Nonetheless, ceramic evidence is extremely helpful in understanding artisanal production and distribution networks. Wheel-turned pottery from the Mediterranean coast, including Iberian red-gloss and imported Greek wares, becomes widespread in the southern Meseta in the fourth century BC (Mena Muñoz 1985: 107–36; Patiño Gómez 1988). By the third century, the turned wares are being brush-painted with geometric motifs (horizontal bands, wavy lines, concentric circle segments, cross-hatching) in wine-red or dark ochre pigment made with iron oxide (Fernández Rodríguez 1988). These wares continue into the first century BC, when they are eclipsed by Roman pottery types.

Wheel-turned pottery makes its appearance in the upper Duero basin in the mid-fourth century. Its production in Vaccaean territory begins slightly later, probably around 300 BC. In both technique and form the new wheel-made products show the influence of Iberian wares, making it likely that the latter were imported into the northern Meseta, either up the Ebro Valley or across the Central Cordillera, before being locally imitated. Indeed, in this formative stage of ceramic evolution it is not easy to distinguish Celtiberian products from their Iberian models (Sacristán de Lama 1986: 124; Martín Valls 1986–7: 79–80). The northern wares of the third and second centuries tend to have a reddish-orange, beige, maroon, nut-brown or (among the Vaccaeii) grey fabric. Excavation of a kiln complex at Los Azafranales (Coca, SG), which dates probably to the second half of the third century BC, shows that turned wares with painted geometric designs were being produced at the same time as hand-made wares with combed or stamped decoration (Blanco García 1998).

Roman influence in the ceramic market begins with the importation of black-gloss Campanian ware from Italy. Although the distinctive fabrics of Campanian A (Neapolitan), B (Etruscan) and C (Syracusan), and the detailed typology devised by Morel (1981), facilitate the classification of these wares, many Meseta examples are too fragmentary or inadequately published to be reliably identified. Moreover, since most of the Spanish coastal 'Campanian' samples studied by Morel turned out to be local imitations, many of the black-gloss sherds found in Central Spain may be products of Catalunya rather than Italy. Nonetheless, real Campanian may have been introduced to the Meseta during the conquest period, by Roman soldiers carrying Italian vessels with particular shapes and functions unavailable in the local ceramic repertoire. Campanian ware is found almost exclusively in the eastern and southern Meseta, the territory conquered by Rome in the second century BC, with very few examples among the Vaccaeii or Turmogi (Figure 7.4). At a few sites, such as *Numantia*, *Uxama*, Almazán (SO) and Corral de Almaguer (TO), Campanian ware is accompanied by Dressel 1A wine amphoras, produced in Italy between about 130 and 50 BC, which confirm trade with Italy in the Late Republic (Gamer and Ortego 1969: 182; Santos Velasco *et al.* 1998: 58–62).

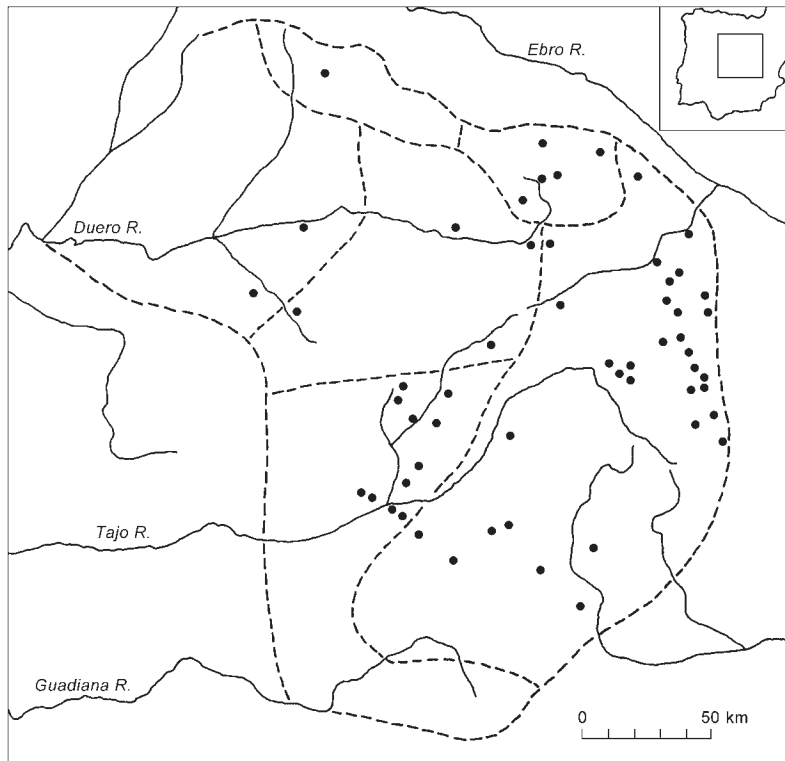


Figure 7.4 Distribution map of Campanian ware in Central Spain.

At the start of the Augustan period (around 30 BC), production of red-gloss *terra sigillata* begins at Arezzo and other Italian centres, and this ware soon spreads across the Mediterranean. Stamps found in Central Spain include such well-known Arretine firms as M. Perennius Tigranus at *Bilbilis* (on a whole *calix* with erotic scenes) and Cn. Ateius at *Arcobriga* and El Poyo del Cid (TE) (Martín Bueno 1982a; Cerralbo 1987: 57; Atrián Jordán *et al.* 1980: 203). In addition to Arretine products, Puteolan *sigillata* has been identified at *Numantia*, *Pisoraca*, *Arcobriga* and *Uxama*. Italian *sigillata* ranging in date from Augustus to the Flavians has been documented at numerous sites in the Meseta (many of them the same as for Campanian ware) and there are undoubtedly others, since many excavators report finds of *terra sigillata* without specifying its origin. An even larger number of sites have yielded *sigillata* produced in southern Gaul, including stamps of the Montans and La Graufesenque workshops. Central Gaulish *sigillata*, on the other hand, is very rare: a fragment of Dragendorff form 72 with appliqué grape decoration from Villabermudo (P) and a base stamped 'RVTE' at

Villavieja de Muñó, possibly representing the Lezoux potter Rutenus (Pérez González 1989: 266–8; Liz Callejo *et al.* 1971–2: 268).

By the mid-first century AD, Spanish potters were producing their own red-gloss ware, known today as *terra sigillata hispánica* (T.S.H.). The T.S.H. of Central Spain comes chiefly from *Tritium Magallum* (modern Tricio) in the Ebro Valley; the products of Andújar (Granada) do not penetrate north of Oretania (Garabito *et al.* 1988). However, there was a small Meseta workshop at Bronchales (TE), a remote site in the Sierra de Albarracín which has yielded sixty-six moulds as well as wasters, kiln furniture, and part of a potter's wheel. The kiln was used to produce T.S.H. with smooth or decorated exterior, in a reddish paste with a bright orange slip. This pottery, which seems to have been made in the late first and early second centuries, had a limited geographic circulation which impacted as much on the east coast as on Central Spain, not unnaturally, given the workshop's location at the extreme eastern edge of the Meseta (Mayet 1984, vol. 1: 23–7, 222–3). Another production centre for local consumption was located at Villarroja de la Sierra (Z) between *Turiaso* and *Bilbilis*; here were found three kilns, thousands of pieces of T.S.H. (including some new and unparalleled forms) and sixty fragments of moulds with decorations of the mid-first to early third century (Medrano Marqués 1987; Medrano Marqués and Díaz Sanz 1989). Local production at *Termes* is suggested by finds of T.S.H. moulds, tentatively dated to the second half of the first century AD, on the outskirts of the ancient town (Fernández Martínez 1983). In addition, punches for stamped decoration similar to the Tricio motifs have been found at *Arcobriga*, *Bilbilis*, *Numantia*, *Uxama*, *Palantia*, and *Duratón* (SG), though the presence of these portable tools does not guarantee T.S.H. production on the sites in question (Garabito 1978: 582). However, some of the T.S.H. from *Numantia*, *Palantia*, Osorno (P) and La Huelga (Simancas, VA), which closely resembles Gaulish *sigillata* and is unlikely to have been made at Tricio, suggests the existence of one or more workshops in the Duero Valley during the Early Empire; so does a hemispheric bowl found only at *Clunia* and *Pedrosa de la Vega* (P) (Mañanes 1983: 27; Abásolo *et al.* 1986: 171–2; Mayet 1984, vol. 1: 101). Since T.S.H. is ubiquitous in Spain, there must have been an elaborate shipping network using various modes of transportation (barges on rivers, wagons on roads, mules in the mountains) and local distribution centres, about which we know nothing.

The widespread use of *terra sigillata*, initially imported from Italy and soon reproduced provincially, is one of the most visible signs of Romanization in Central Spain. It represents not only a change in aesthetic perception – a preference for stamped or moulded red-gloss vases in place of Celtiberian painted ones – but also (to suit the new repertoire of table-ware shapes) changes in diet and dining habits, and a desire to identify with Roman culture. Roman pottery was not necessarily 'better' than the indigenous wares, but it was evidently more prestigious. Though intended for everyday

use, in contrast to the vessels in precious metals used by the rich or on special occasions, *terra sigillata* was elegant, fashionable, and proclaimed the refined taste of the owner. The *sigillata* industry involved the establishment of a complex production and marketing infrastructure, providing employment for potters, transporters and sales personnel, whether free or slave (Curchin 1986b: 182–4). Nonetheless, the transition to *terra sigillata* was by no means complete. T.S.H. from Villalazán (ZA) and *Numantia*, and thin-walled ware from the latter site, have painted decoration in the Celtiberian tradition (M.V. and F. Romero Carnicero 1978). Moreover, indigenous painted ware continues to be produced, with modifications, in the late first and early second centuries AD. Some pre-Roman forms persist, though they are reduced in size, as do some of the Celtiberian decorative motifs (cross-hatching, parallel bands); but the forms become standardized and adopt new decorative elements such as rabbits, ivy leaves and bull's-eyes. The chief production centre in the northern Meseta was *Clunia*, though there were also local workshops at *Arcobriga*, *Palantia*, *Uxama*, Quintana Redonda (SO) and Villalazán (ZA), each with its own peculiarities; the *Clunia* ware, usually in whitish paste with maroon paint, imitates features both of the Iberian ware from Azaila (Z) and of Gaulish *sigillata*. In the southern Meseta, 80 per cent of the finds come from two sites, *Segobriga* and the Roman villa at Villaverde Bajo (M), suggesting that production took place in or near these locations. There also seems to be a workshop of uncertain location in the north of Toledo province (Abascal 1986; 1988). In the northern Meseta at least, the extensive distribution of these wares points to an organized marketing network similar to that for T.S.H. Since *Clunia* and *Segobriga* were both major cities and give every indication of being Romanized, one must question whether the production of ceramics of indigenous tradition represents 'resistance' to Romanization, or whether they were used by a particular social stratum, such as the lower class. The fact that the two wares are commonly found together suggests that both were used in the same household. Just as today we have more than one pattern of china in our homes, so Mesetans liked a variety of table wares; though both types were produced in Spain, one was of indigenous inspiration and the other of Italian. Far from contradicting the Romanization of Central Spain, the co-existence of these two wares illustrates the premise that provincial Romanization was not a wholesale adoption of Roman cultural memes, but a successful blend of Roman and native elements.

Another variety of fine pottery was the orange-slipped, thin-walled ware known in Spanish as *cerámica de paredes finas*. This is usually decorated with a moulded or tool-incised design, a 'barbotine' motif formed with narrow strands of clay, or a pitted exterior produced by dipping the vase into gritty sand while the clay is still soft. Thin-walled ware has a smaller circulation in Central Spain than *terra sigillata* and the origin of the vases is often in doubt. Some thin-walled ware was imported from Italy or Baetica (Mayet 1975:

126–9, 149–51). *Pisoraca*, home of the *legio IV Macedonica* in the early first century, also had its own production of this ware, as well as of *terra sigillata*, for the use of the troops (Lión Bustillo 1995–6: 270). A thin-walled pottery kiln has been found at Melgar de Tera (ZA) in Asturian territory, but its marketing seems to have been directed towards the Atlantic rather than the Meseta (Lión Bustillo 1997). However, a large quantity of decorated and undecorated thin-walled ware, including abundant wasters, found in Caracol Street in Tarazona (Z) suggests production at *Turiaso* in the second half of the first century AD (Aguarod Otal 1984; Amaré Tafalla 1984a). Like thin-walled ware, clay lamps were often imported from Italy, and occasionally from Africa, during the first two centuries AD. However, a proliferation of ‘bird’s-head’ lamps (Dressel 4) at *Pisoraca*, with seventeen variations, suggests local production here in the Augustan period; and the dump with wasters at *Turiaso*, already mentioned, attests to production not only of thin-walled wares but also of volute lamps, in the latter half of the first century (Amaré Tafalla 1984b; 1988; Morillo Cerdán 1992: 64–76; Amaré Tafalla *et al.* 1983).

Was there a balance of trade?

Interaction with the Mediterranean world made a wide range of imported raw materials and manufactured products available to consumers in Central Spain – especially the elite, who prized exotic goods of high prestige value. In the fourth and third centuries BC, Iberian red-gloss table wares penetrated the eastern and southern Meseta. Some Celtiberian cemeteries in the northern Meseta contain ‘Monte Bernorio’ daggers and ‘Miraveche’ belt buckles from Cantabria, as well as *falcata* swords from the Mediterranean coast (García-Soto Mateos 1990: 26). With trade came cultural influence, such as Iberian construction techniques and decorative styles (Bonet Rosado and Mata Parreño 1984). In the Republican period we find the importation of Dressel 1A and 1B wine amphoras from Italy, not only in the Roman camps at *Numantia* and Almazán (SO), but at such indigenous towns as *Contrebia Leucade*, *Consabura* and *Uxama*, as well as Greek and Campanian table wares. These luxury imports may have played a role in feasting and the well-known social competition between Celtic nobles to outdo one another in hospitality and generosity, though they are found only in the eastern and southern Meseta, not deep in the interior. In the Early Imperial period we find importation of *terra sigillata*, initially from Italy and Gaul, and then from the Rioja region (Tricio ware). Though Italian *sigillata* was an inexpensive ware in its homeland, it was heavy to ship and may have been a luxury item in the Meseta. Dressel 2–5 amphoras found at such sites as *Tiermes*, *Valeria*, Villalba (SO) and Tarancón (CU) probably carried Catalan wine into the eastern Meseta (Argente Oliver *et al.* 1984: chap. 3; Sánchez-Lafuente Pérez 1986: 159; Revilla Andía 1985: 290; Martínez Fronce 1988:

72). Baetican fish sauce is represented by amphoras at *Segobriga*, Otero de los Herreros (SG) and possibly Santa María del Prado (SO) (Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 1989: 197–8; Domergue 1979: 152; Revilla Andía 1985: 246). Conspicuous by their absence are the Dressel 20 Baetican olive oil amphoras, though there is slight evidence that Italian oil may have been imported around the first century BC (Sánchez-Lafuente Pérez 1986: 159; Almagro Gorbea and Lorrio 1989: fig. 12.2). After that time, apparently, the Meseta produced enough oil for its own consumption.

Glass products – bowls, plates, cups, bottles, jars, unguentaria and lacrimatoria – of both blown and mould-made varieties have been reported on many Meseta sites, though they are often too fragmentary for useful analysis. Glass-blowing technology, invented in the late first century BC, changed glass from a luxury to an item affordable by everyone (Greene 1992: 101). Since no production centres are known in Central Spain, this glass was presumably imported, either from Italy or the provinces. A Republican unguentarium, manufactured by the sand-core technique, has been found at Soria (SO) and perhaps belonged to a Roman soldier serving in the war with *Numantia* (Vigil Pascual 1969: 74–5, 80). First-century BC vases of blue glass, decorated with ringlets of white and yellow glass thread in the Greek style, have been found at *Uxama* (García Merino 1971: 103). Glass vessels dating to the Early Empire are documented at *Complutum*, *Laminium*, *Termes* and *Segobriga* in the southern Meseta, and *Uxama*, *Arcobriga*, *Palantia*, *Saldania* and *Pisoraca* in the north. They include fine table ware that must have graced the homes of the elite, as well as less expensive plain wares. Some of the glass may have come from eastern and southern Spain, where glass production is attested in the first two centuries AD (Curchin 1991: 141). Other vessels arrived from further afield, such as the Isings form 33 cup with relief decoration from *Termes*, which was made in northern Italy or southern Switzerland (Argente Oliver 1997: 35–6). Glass beads from the necropolis of *Palantia*, painted with women's faces, appear to have come from the Near East (García y Bellido *et al.* 1962: 75–6 and fig. 46). Very little early glass is recorded on rural sites such as villas.

Marble veneer from Italy and elsewhere was used in public buildings at *Clunia* and *Complutum*, in the homes of the elite, such as the Sectile House at *Uxama*, and in rural establishments near *Cauca* and *Turiasso* (Loperráez 1788, vol. 2: 324; Méndez Madariaga 1990: 19; García Merino 1991: 236; Blanco García 1987a: 27; Bona López and Hernández Vera 1989: 120–7). The buildings of *Bilbilis* incorporated, in addition to marble from the Ebro and Jálón valleys, a wide range of imported marbles from Italy, Greece, Tunisia and Turkey (Cisneros Cunchillos and Martín Bueno 1994: 107). Since most marble quarries were state property, the trade seems to have been controlled by imperial officials, and a city would need imperial permission, probably through the intercession of a patron, to obtain such stone (Fant 1993: 145; Isserlin 1998: 138). Statuary could also be made of imported stone, such as

Carrara marble from northern Italy, and sardonyx from India. Naturally, not all commerce was long-distance, and many domestic products such as grain and coarse pottery would have circulated internally. Residents in mountainous zones such as the Central Cordillera and Sierra de Albarracín, where the emphasis was on pasturing, mining or quarrying, must have obtained grain, vegetables and manufactured goods from neighbouring districts.

Though all societies produce surpluses, these have no value as exchange commodities unless there is a market for them. During the period of conquest, Central Spain yielded slaves and booty, but in peacetime the region had few products to interest the Romans – a fact which partly explains the lack of Roman settlement in the region. In terms of metals, the Meseta is less important than Galicia or the Sierra Morena. Literary sources refer to the chill-tempered iron of *Bilbilis* and the gold panned from the Tajo, but we have no idea how much was actually exported. Despite the productivity of the Tierra de Campos, cereal production in Central Spain could hardly compare with that of Sicily or North Africa. The best Spanish wool came from Baetica, not the Meseta. Pliny refers to the medicinal salt of *Egelasta* and the selenite of *Segobriga*. Sale of the latter certainly seems to have enriched the local elite, who include Roman senators (chapter 6). However, while such exotic exports are mentioned in literature, ancient writers were generally uninterested in routine commodities. Many trade goods detectable archaeologically are not mentioned in textual sources (Wells 1999: 235), and there may have been considerable trade in perishable items that have left no trace at all. Moreover, even for those exports that are attested, we have no data on the quantities exchanged.

If Central Spain had so few products for export, where did it get the money to buy imports? Though luxury items could have been afforded only by the rich, imports like *terra sigillata* and glass are so widespread as to have been in common use. If wealth was constantly leaving the Meseta, with none accruing from outside, a financial crisis must have ensued. Taxes were paid to Rome, but little of that money came back to the region. According to Hopkins' 'taxes and trade' model, provinces lying between Italy and the frontiers paid considerable tax but got little back from the government; these provinces then 'had to earn money with which to pay their taxes by exporting goods of an equal value' (Hopkins 1980: 101). If jobs for provincials depended on taxes being spent in their region (Jongman 1988: 190), unemployment must have been high. In Republican times the Roman army would have put money into circulation in the region by purchasing supplies and hiring auxiliaries, not to mention the pay spent by soldiers. But after the early first century AD there were no more legions in the Meseta. The emperors did spend money on road maintenance, but no other cash infusion is recorded. Subsistence and internal trade continued, of course, but in terms of economic relations with the outside world, the cash flow seems to have been one-sided. How could the region's economy remain solvent, and how did wealth come into the Meseta?

There is a possible answer that has never been considered. As the agricultural estates of southern and eastern Spain turned increasingly to production of olives and grapes, the yield of grain must have dwindled accordingly, so that these regions were decreasingly able to feed a growing population. Palaeobotanical evidence from Baetica suggests that olives and vines, in the mid- to late first century AD, were being grown in much larger quantities, at the expense of grain (Keay *et al.* 2000: 205) – a suggestion verified by the massive quantities of amphoras produced in the Guadalquivir valley. A similar syndrome is well known in Italy, which had to import overseas grain to compensate for the conversion of its land to vine and olive culture. If grain was running low on Spain's Mediterranean plains, the Meseta, with its dry soil ideal for cereals, was the obvious supplier. Millions of sacks of grain, travelling by boat or wagon, will have left no archaeological trace. Such trade was probably not yet existent in the Julio-Claudian period: since Carpetania has abundant coins of that period minted in the Ebro valley (Curchin 2001a) but none from Baetica, its trade was with the north, not the south. Yet by the Late Empire, Central Spain had some of the richest villas in the Peninsula, many of them in the grain-growing Tierra de Campos. I would argue that during the Flavian era and the second century, when both Baetican oleiculture and the cities of Central Spain were flourishing, large quantities of grain were being exported from the Meseta.

The obvious objection to such a hypothesis is the high cost of transportation. The Tierra de Campos lies in the Duero valley, but that river is only partly navigable. Strabo (3.3.4) says that large ships can travel up the Duero for 800 stades (148 km). This is remarkably accurate, since modern data show that ships up to ten tonnes can navigate the Duero year-round, and ships up to forty tonnes seasonally, for a distance of 145 kilometres from the Atlantic (Gaspar 1970: 156). Therefore grain from the northern Meseta destined for shipment by sea would have to be carted overland into Lusitania, loaded onto riverboats, and later reloaded onto seagoing vessels for the trip to the Mediterranean. Grain from the southern Meseta could likewise be carted to a Lusitanian port on the Tagus, or directly into Baetica via the Roman road from *Toletum* to *Corduba* (Corchado y Soriano 1969: 136–8); and grain destined for Catalunya could take either the *Asturica*—*Caesaraugusta* or *Emerita*—*Caesaraugusta* route to the Ebro valley. In terrain too rough for wagons, mules could each carry two hundred pounds in panniers (Greene 1986: 39). Diocletian's Price Edict has often been cited as proof that overland transport was prohibitively expensive. However, that document gives only maximum fees; in normal practice, land transportation was expensive, but not prohibitively so (Horden and Purcell 2000: 151, 377). Harris (1993: 27) emphasizes that middle-distance overland transportation was quite common in the Roman world, even when goods were eventually to travel by ship. For instance, African grain destined for Rome had to be carted many miles overland before reaching the sea. And

while it is a general principle that transportation costs increase with distance, the Diocletianic data refer only to hired transport. A villa owner could send his own grain to a river port on his own wagons, driven by his own slaves, at practically no cost. A long journey would inevitably increase the price of the grain at the receiving end, but price is whatever the market will bear. When food was in short supply, 'the efforts of the grain officers of Mediterranean cities knew no bounds, whether of ethics or of geography' (Horden and Purcell 2000: 113). Thus it would have been feasible, if expensive, to transport Meseta grain to southern and eastern Spain, regions rich enough from sales of wine, oil and fish sauce to be able to afford it. The resulting profits would have kept Meseta landowners rich, and this wealth would have trickled down to their employees and to urban suppliers of goods and services, benefiting the entire region.

Conclusions

The economy of Central Spain should be viewed in terms not of Roman exploitation, but of integration with the Mediterranean economy. Although Roman engineering techniques undoubtedly facilitated mineral extraction, there is little evidence that the Roman state controlled the mines and quarries of Central Spain. These operations were less lucrative than the famed mines of Galicia, and probably remained in private hands. Handsome profits could nonetheless be made: for instance, the extraction and marketing of *lapis specularis* seems to have enriched the elite of *Segobriga*.

The Meseta economy was stimulated in the last two centuries BC by the Roman army, with its heavy demands for foodstuffs, metals, leather and pottery. Local coin mints sprang up in the mid-second century, probably to facilitate the payment of troops or tribute, and the consequent circulation of cash helped to monetize the region. The establishment of peace fostered an expansion of production and commerce. Economic organization became more complex, with new industries such as olive oil processing and the mining of *lapis specularis*. There is ample evidence of craft specialization and intensified production in such areas as textiles and pottery. Admittedly, some production was spatially restricted: for instance, the only major T.S.H. workshops were Bronchales and Villarroja de la Sierra, and tin was mined only in the Montes de Toledo.

The incorporation of Central Spain into the Roman world led to increased economic integration with the Mediterranean. There was greater complexity of trade, including the importation of Italian pottery and wine, as well as marble and glass from various parts of the empire. Whereas most Meseta products were destined for local consumption, there must also have been large-scale exporting to offset the flight of capital outside the region in payment of taxes and imported goods. While selenite exports undoubtedly enriched *Segobriga*, there must have been other sources of outside income to

keep the predominantly agrarian economy of Central Spain afloat. It is suggested that the balance of trade was met by grain exports to other parts of Spain, specifically Andalusia and Catalunya where cereal production had given way to olives and grapes. Though such exports would have involved costly overland hauling, it is argued that the more affluent regions of Spain were willing to pay the price of imported grain.

8

RELIGIOUS DUALITY

Dissonance or fusion?

There is nothing in which deduction is so necessary as in religion.

(Arthur Conan Doyle)

. . . one must remember the enormous attraction exercised by the gods of a conqueror.

(Wightman 1986: 549)

One of the most fascinating yet intricate aspects of a culture is its religious beliefs and practices. The transfer in worship from indigenous deities to the gods of the classical pantheon is an obvious step in the Romanizing process, yet we must also consider changes in who performed the rituals, where they were performed, and what those rituals comprised. Assessing the impact of Roman religion on a provincial culture is no easy task. Why did people adopt Roman religion? Did they merely wish to appear Romanized, or was there a genuine attraction to the conqueror's gods? Moreover, there is the recently posed problem of whether the syncretism of pre-Roman and Roman deities consists of 'a neutral indigenous adaptation of a classical god' or 'submitting a Roman deity to the power of an important local' one (J. Webster 1997: 327) – or, we might add, submitting an indigenous deity to the power of a Roman one. Other indigenous deities were not syncretized at all, and this fact also demands explanation: does the contemporaneous worship of indigenous and Roman gods indicate contradiction, or integration?

How 'Celtic' was Celtiberian religion?

Ancient Celtic religion has been extensively studied on the basis of evidence from Gaul and Britain. Celtiberian religion should be situated within this larger context, since many of the indigenous gods in our region have Celtic names and some are worshipped in other Celtic lands. Moreover, various aspects of Celtiberian religion (such as cave sanctuaries, a fascination with

the human head, and an emphasis on nature cults) have clear affinities with Celtic practice. The cults of Central Spain also conform to Celtic religion in being characterized by pluralism, in two senses of the word. First, while nearly all ancient religions were polytheistic, the Celtic pantheon was exceptionally prolific and lacked visible organization. There was no central 'executive' comparable to the Olympian gods, and of the hundreds of attested Celtic deities, most are mentioned only once. The Celts evidently lived in an animistic world full of local spirits; few indeed are those deities, such as Lugus and Epona, who appear in several regions. Second, Celtic deities were often worshipped in groups, especially triads. A plurality of gods was more potent than a single one, and the Celts like many other peoples considered three to be a magical number.

Visual portrayals of Celtic gods tend to occur only after contact with the classical world – in part because the Celtic gods, like Roman ones, were originally aniconic, without physical images, and in part because the pre-Roman Celts produced little sculpture in stone. A vase painting from *Numantia*, in which a female figure appears beside a facing pair of fantastic creatures eating fish, possibly represents a goddess (Figure 8.1a), though another Numantine vase, formerly thought to portray the antlered god Cernunnos (Figure 8.1b), has now been conclusively shown to be an overhead view of an animal, for which there are numerous parallels (F. Romero Carnicero 1976: fig. 5; F. Romero Carnicero and Sanz Mínguez 1992: 467). On the other hand, a sculpted frieze from Fuentelsaz (SO), showing a bearded male with pointed ears and arched branches protruding from the top of his head, is surely to be seen as a god (Figure 8.1c) (Ortego 1972: 87; Gutiérrez Behemerid 1992: 821–2). Similarly, a human-footed figure etched in rock at Peñalba de Villastar (TE), dressed in a tunic and possibly holding a shield, has twin animal heads (Cabré y Aguilo 1910: 267), and should represent a god – possibly Lugus (Irish Lugh), named in a Celtiberian inscription from the same site (Figure 8.1d). The obverse of Celtiberian coins usually profiles the head of either a bearded male, or a handsome, clean-shaven one with curly hair (Figure 8.1e, f). It is difficult to say whether these are imitations of the classical Hercules and Apollo, or are intended to represent indigenous gods or heroes (Almagro-Gorbea 1995b: 53–64).

Celtic deities are frequently associated with the world of nature. Sun, moon and stars were all considered sacred, and are often shown in art by swastikas, crescents and spoked wheels – though the swastikas on such items in our region as painted pottery and belt buckles may be intended simply as good luck symbols (Green 1992: 204). An altar from Segovia province (Figure 10.7) which combines wheels, swastikas and conifers (Knapp 1992: no. 289) has parallels in Cantabria and the Pyrenees. In the territory of the Vaccaei the 'solar disc' (a wheel with swirling spokes of varying number) is a frequent theme on funerary stelae (Abásolo and García Rozas 1990); presumably the idea was that the deceased, like the sun, would have another life. Clay models of boats found

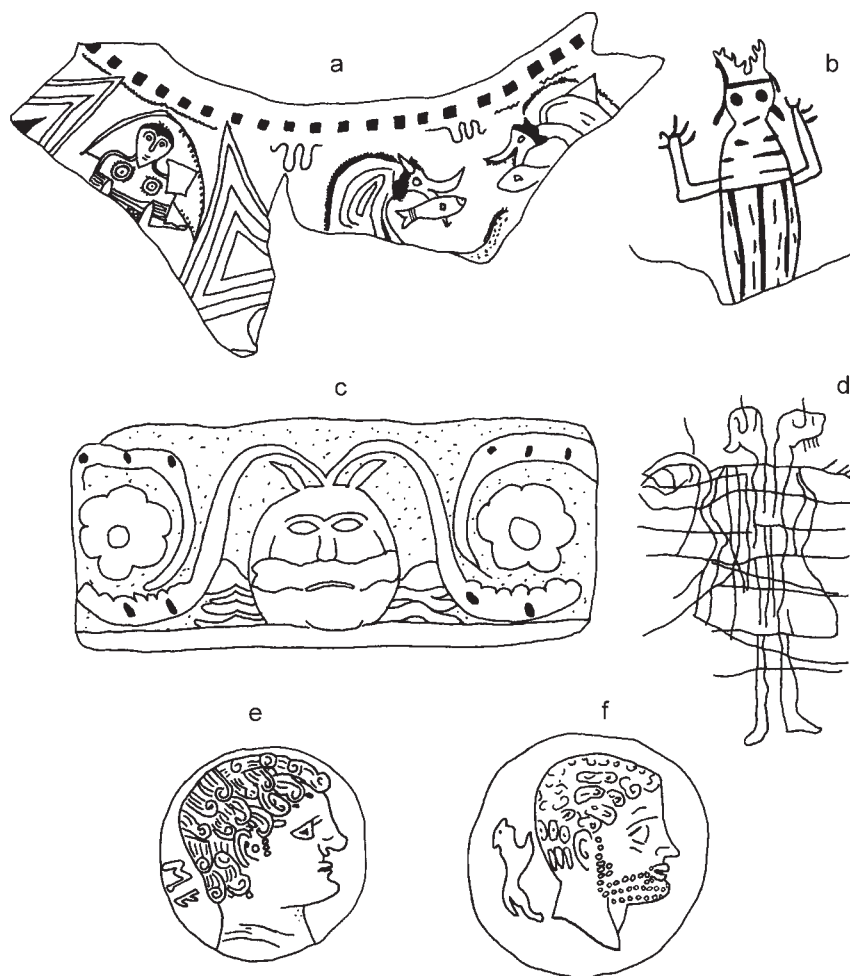


Figure 8.1 Supposed representations of Celtiberian deities: a-b painted potsherds from *Numantia* (after F. Romero Carnicero 1976); c frieze from Fuentelsaz (SO); d rock carving from Peñalba de Castro (TE) (after Cabré 1910); e-f indigenous coins of *sekaiza*.

in Vaccaean cemeteries have been interpreted as 'solar barques', used by the deceased in their voyage to the 'other world'; they find parallels in Gaul and eastern Europe (Wattenberg 1966). The moon was especially important to the Celts, whose calendar was lunar and who counted time by nights instead of days (Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 6.18). Strabo (3.4.16) claims that the Celtiberians worship a nameless god at night during the full moon, while Appian (*Iberica* 82) reports that the people of *Palantia* halted an attack on the army of M.

Aemilius Lepidus in 136 BC because of a lunar eclipse. Although a suggestion has been made that Strabo's anonymous deity is the god of death (equivalent to Irish *Donn* or Gallo-Roman *Dispater*) and therefore worshipped at night (Sopeña Genzor 1995: 29–42), this does not explain why the ceremony was confined to the full moon. Moreover, the 'god' may be a Strabonian invention to stress the barbarity of the Celtiberians, since only primitive people do not name their deities (Marco Simón 1999: 36).

The cult of the mother goddesses (*Matres*) is well attested in Central Spain, as in Gaul. In the northern Meseta there are twelve inscriptions dedicated to the *Matres*, who sometimes bear special epithets (*Gallaicae*, *Brigiaecae*, *Endeiterae*, *Monitucinaei*). The first two of these names suggest a connection, possibly only philological, with Galicia and the Asturian town of *Brigaecium*. Although these goddesses represented motherhood, they were not exclusively a women's cult, since most of the dedicants to *Matres* in our region are men. The known association of Celtic mother goddesses with curative waters (Green 1992: 156) may explain the concentration of *Matres* at *Clunia*, with its sulphur springs (Gómez-Pantoja 1999b). Two reliefs, showing groups of three female figures under the canopy of a sea-shell, might represent an aspect of the *Matres*, since Celtic mother goddesses often appear in threes (Knapp 1992: nos. 221, 274). Another popular group of female divinities was the *Nymphae*, whose Latinized name barely masks their origin as indigenous fresh-water spirits. Martial (1.49.10) refers to a lake of the Nymphs near *Bilbilis*. Altars dedicated to these goddesses are generally found near springs, especially medicinal springs, and one of the dedicants fulfils a vow 'for the health of her husband', showing that the nymphs had healed him (AE 1977, 493). Thanks to the large number of *Matres* and *Nymphae*, dedications to female indigenous deities in our region outnumber male ones by a ratio of three to one.

Trees were another form of nature that inspired worship. A painted vase from *Arcobriga*, of difficult interpretation, shows a 'tree-man' (Figure 8.2), as well as roosters and horned serpents (Marco Simón 1993a). Sacred groves are hard to identify archaeologically, though Martial mentions one in Celtiberia, the *sacrum Buradonis ilicetum*. 'Sacred' trees (usually dead, but carefully fenced and preserved) can still be seen in town squares and churchyards in Central Spain today, though their veneration does not prove continuity from ancient times (Horden and Purcell 2000: 408). Several altars in the northern Meseta are dedicated to the Roman woodland god *Silvanus*, who probably perpetuates an indigenous tree-spirit. Sacred mountains are also well attested in the Celtic world. The Meseta has many lofty, windswept mountains with breathtaking views, where one could readily imagine a divine presence. The 'montaña escrita' at Peñalba de Villastar was an ideal spot for an open-air sanctuary, and here a lengthy Celtiberian inscription containing the phrase *luguei comeimu* ('for *Lugus* we assemble') indicates which god was worshipped on the summit (HAE, 792).



Figure 8.2 'Tree-man' and 'shrine' on a painted vase from *Arcobriga* (after Cerralbo 1987).

Many animals were sacrificed to the Celts, either as attributes of particular deities or for their own supposed powers. Zoomorphic hospitality tokens reflect the importance of these animals in sealing legal transactions, while the fantastic beasts sometimes portrayed on Celtiberian pottery and belt buckles suggest that animals played a role in mythology as well as religion. The coins in a hoard at Salvacañete (CU), dating to about 100 BC, seem to have been deliberately selected for their iconographic content, especially bulls and horses; one explanation is that the hoard was an ex-voto offering to an animal deity (Blázquez Cerrato and García-Bellido 1998). The bull was revered for its strength and virility. There are numerous terracotta and bronze statuettes of standing or recumbent bulls throughout the Meseta (though especially in the north) in both pre-Roman and Roman times, and the problem is to determine whether these refer to an actual 'bull cult', or are ex-votos substituted for sacrificed animals, or reflect the bull's economic importance or its appeal as an artistic subject. Of the many bull figurines from *Numantia*, two bronze bulls' heads appear to be amulets, presumably to promote fertility (Apráiz 1953: 274). A bronze bull from Palencia province, with a hollow socket at the base enabling it to be fitted onto a pole, may be a finial for a standard used in religious ceremonies (Revilla Viéla 1948–51,

vol. 2: 122 and pl. CCIV). Throughout the western Meseta are found dozens of large granite sculptures of bulls or pigs, known as *verracos* (Figure 8.3). These monolithic beasts have been the subject of a detailed study which shows that they are found sometimes in association with tombs or cemeteries, and sometimes with sanctuaries or sacred places. Some are inscribed with circles and crosses, or with Latin epitaphs. The author concludes, rather ambiguously, that the *verracos* had 'a votive or funerary purpose' and were intended as offerings to an indigenous deity with both astral and chthonic functions (López Monteagudo 1989: 151). However, a more recent treatment points out that the smaller and more stylized examples are of Roman date and definitely had a funerary purpose, forming part of the assemblage of both incineration and cremation tombs (Martín Valls 1995: 159–61).

The horse, prized for its speed, sexual prowess and its importance in warfare and the economy, was also important in Celtic religion (Green 1989: 23, 146). The mounted cavalryman who appears on Celtiberian coins and on stelae from the *Clunia* region has sometimes been seen as evidence for a horse cult, and a Numantine vase showing a human body with a horse's head – a sort of reverse centaur – could conceivably be an equestrian god (Ortego 1975; Schulten 1931: pl. 21). Terracotta or bronze models of horses or



Figure 8.3 Stone zoomorphs (*verracos*) at Cauca.

horses' heads have been found on several Meseta sites, and a bas-relief from Luzaga (GU) showing a horse approaching an altar on which an animal has just been sacrificed clearly has some religious connotation (Morère 1983: 19). There is also a large number of bronze fibulas from the northern Meseta in the shape of a horse. There are no visual representations of the horse-goddess Epona in our region, but her worship is indicated by votive altars from male dedicants at *Segontia* and Lara de los Infantes (BU) (*CIL* II, 5788; *HAE*, 1524). Since Epona came to be accepted as a goddess in Imperial Rome, and her cult was transported to various provinces by soldiers returning from the Rhine frontier, the appearance of her name on these altars does not demonstrate the perpetuation of a pre-Roman cult. Indeed, since Celtiberian does not have a 'p' sound, she is almost certainly a late arrival. On the side of the *Segontia* altar is carved what appears to be an overhead view of a racing chariot, which may explain why the dedicant, a certain Secundus, had made a vow to the horse goddess.

Bronze figurines of boars, rams, goats and sheep may also have a religious value. The boar was revered by the Celts for its ferocity, the ram and goat for fertility, while the sheep was a common sacrificial animal. More unexpected, because so far from the coast, is the find of a bronze dolphin figure in a vase from Retortillo (SO) containing pre-Roman denarii (Raddatz 1969: 243). The dolphin is a Greco-Roman symbol of the voyage to the Isles of the Blessed, but it also appears in a Celtic context on the Gundestrup Cauldron found in Denmark, as well as on hospitality tokens from Fuentes Claras (TE) and Paredes de Nava (P). Another animal of possible religious significance is the wolf. In southern Gaul, the Celtic hammer god (sometimes known as Sucellus) is syncretized with the Roman woodland god Silvanus, and wears a wolf-skin cloak. Appian's mention (*Iberica* 48) of a Celtiberian herald whose symbol of office was a wolf skin, and representations on Numantine vases of humans wearing what appear to be wolf skins, have been interpreted as attestations of the cult of Sucellus in the Meseta (Marco Simón 1991: 96). However, the absence of the hammer attribute, which appears even on the wolf-skin-clad figures from Narbonensis, negates any presence of Sucellus in our region. Nonetheless, the wolf could be a sacred animal or totem: for instance, the Cernunnos figure on the Gundestrup Cauldron is flanked by a wolf and a stag. The wolf skin worn by the Celtiberian herald perhaps had an apotropaic function, the power of the wolf magically protecting him while (as in the Appian passage) he negotiates with an armed enemy.

Lugus is the most widespread of all the Celtic deities. His name is imbedded in Gaulish toponyms and personal names, and he figures in Irish myth as a warrior-god and magician. His principal attestation in Central Spain is in the mountain sanctuary of Peñalba de Villastar (Figure 9.1), where his name appears on an inscription in Latin letters but Celtic language (*HAE*, 792). The seven-line text is carved on a rock face close to the ground, above the figure of a running raven. This bird is a traditional attribute of

Lugus, whose name is possibly connected with the Gaulish word *longos* 'raven'. The inscription also contains the word *equeisui*, suggesting a possible affinity of Lugus with horses (Olivares Pedreño 2002: 112). Also carved in the rock at Peñalba are two images thought to represent this god. One is the bicephalic figure already mentioned, whose twin heads may suggest the plural aspect of Lugus. The other, a macrocephalic character in typical Celtic pose – shown frontally, with no ears and horizontal eyes and mouth – has extended arms with hands spread, recalling one of Lugus' Irish epithets, *lámfbháda* 'the long-armed' (Marco Simón 1986). The plural nature of Lugus is reflected also on an inscribed altar dedicated to the *Lugoves* by L. Licinius Urcico from the shoemakers' association at *Uxama* (CIL II, 2812). Lugus, known in Irish literature as *Samildánach* (the many-skilled), would be a logical patron of such craftsmen. Lugus also appears as a theophoric element in Meseta personal names, such as *Luguadicus* and *Lougeios* (CIL II, 2732; AE 1980, 587). Moreover, a *tessera hospitalis* of AD 14 from *Pisoraca*, which although written in Latin contains a number of non-Roman features, is significantly dated 1 August, coinciding with the Celtic *Lughnasad* or festival of Lugus (AE 1967, 239; Curchin 1994b: 96–8).

Several other indigenous deities are named on votive inscriptions, mostly in the northern Meseta. Though their number is limited, it should be remarked that many rural people worshipping Celtic gods would have neither the inclination nor the means to commission a stone altar inscribed in Latin; therefore indigenous worship was probably more widespread than its modest representation in Latin epigraphy would suggest. Also, there are many uninscribed altars, sometimes decorated with astral or vegetal motifs. Rather than being unused pieces from the stonemason's stock, these may be functional altars whose users did not want or could not read an inscription, or which were dedicated to a god whose name was taboo, perhaps like Strabo's unnamed nocturnal deity. The fact that votive inscriptions are in Latin, and date to the first century AD or later, suggests that divine conceptions were already affected by contacts with the Roman world, despite the persistence of a Celtic name (Wells 1999: 59).

The theonym *Boiogena* (Appendix 3) could be related to Irish *bó, boin* 'cow' and signify 'cattle mother', a goddess concerned with fertility of herds. *Drusuna* may be linked with the oak tree, Celtic **dru-* (Gómez-Pantoja and García Palomar 1995: 188). Bandue is the dative form (comparable with *Luguei*) of a masculine theonym well attested in Lusitania and Galicia (Untermann 1985: 352, 359). *Aius*, a god attested in Gaul and also as a personal name in our region, appears twice as a divine name, with epithets *Ragatus* and *Daicinus*; the latter is probably related to the personal name *Daecenus*, recorded among the Vadinienses (Diego Santos 1986: no. 268). Another divine name, *Arco*, which occurs on two altars at Saldaña de Ayllón (SG), is also common as a personal name, and forms an element in the town-name *Arcobriga* (Gómez-Pantoja, forthcoming). *Nemedus*, though eventually

syncretized with the Imperial cult, is an indigenous deity whose name (sometimes spelled *Nimidus* or *Nimmedus*) may be related to Celtic *nemeton* 'sanctuary' (Marco Simón 1993b). *Amma* appears to be a mother goddess, from the infantile word **am(m)a* 'mother'; it also occurs as a personal name in both Spain and Gaul. The *Lattuērii* are possibly war gods, their name related to Gaulish *lati-*, Irish *laith* 'warrior'; a personal name *Latturus* is found at *Palantia* (Hernández Guerra 1994: no. 3). *Mentoviacus*, worshipped at Zamora, is also recorded at Villalcampo (ZA) on the Asturian side of the river Esla (HAE, 886). The god *Vacocius* recalls the Asturian god *Vacus*, twice attested at Astorga (León) with epithets *Caburius* and *Donnaegus* (CIL II, 2636, 5666). A pair of altars from *Palantia* is dedicated to *Duillis* (dative plural); a third altar found with them has no inscription but a relief of three female figures, suggesting that the *Duillae* are a feminine triad, presumably fertility goddesses, cognate with Irish *duille* 'foliage'. The *Duiris Ordaecis* may be linguistically related: the liquid consonants *l* and *r* are sometimes confused. *Ordaecis* contains the suffix *-aeco-*, found frequently in divine epithets in western Spain. *Ord-* might be related to Irish and Old Welsh *ord* 'hammer', indicating a plural variant of the Celtic hammer deity, in which case the *Duiris* should be masculine. In any event, they must have had a healing function, since the altar is erected 'for the health of Titus Cae(lius?)' by his slave, Certio. Hammer gods are often associated with healing springs (Green 1992: 111)

To sum up, the gods of Central Spain were similar not only in name, but also in function, to those in other Celtic lands. Moreover, Celtiberian sacred animals, trees and mountains correspond closely to their Celtic counterparts elsewhere. Since Spain was largely isolated from the La Tène culture of Gaul, these similar religious functions and symbols must have been imbedded in Celtic thought from an early date. The relevance to Romanization of these indigenous features is that many of them are attested in sources of the Roman period, showing firstly that indigenous cults were not only old but long-lived, and secondly that the veneration of native gods and totems was not incompatible with Latin votive inscriptions on stone or with the general level of material Romanization in the region. The persistence, without conscious paradox, of indigenous deities alongside Roman deities can be interpreted as an integration of old and new memes, as well as an illustration that religion is resistive to cultural convergence (chapter 1).

The transition to Roman deities

Roman gods were attractive to provincials, both because the gods of the conqueror seemed more powerful than those of the defeated, and because they had richer mythological and iconographic imagery and a more organized cult than their Celtiberian analogues. Linking indigenous deities to the nearest Roman counterpart not only made it easier for Mesetans to

relate to the new gods, but also enhanced the power and prestige of the old ones. At the same time it must have restructured the native pantheon, establishing a hierarchy of gods parallel to that in classical religion (Marco Simón 1999: 34). Indigenous deities were invoked by their Roman names, a practice which Tacitus calls *interpretatio Romana*. This process was facilitated by the similarity of the Celtic and Roman pantheons, since both cultures had many of the same types of gods (fertility deities, sky deities, water deities). In contrast to modern claims that Roman gods were forcibly imposed on the conquered (Lévêque 1973: 185; Henig and King 1986: *passim*; J. Webster 1995), I would argue that syncretism was a spontaneous development on the part of the inhabitants. Therefore, as Marco Simón (1999: 36) suggests, it might more accurately be termed *interpretatio indigena*.

Among specific examples of syncretism may first be mentioned Jupiter Optimus Maximus, usually abbreviated in inscriptions as I.O.M. The fact that this god is more commonly found in the interior regions of Spain than on the highly Romanized south and east coasts suggests that this is not the classical Jupiter but a syncretized indigenous deity (Knapp 1984: 225). In fact, the title I.O.M. may mask a number of different local gods, possibly including the anonymous god of the Celtiberi mentioned by Strabo (Le Roux and Tranoy 1973: 220), assuming he is not imaginary. Mercury, the most popular god in Gaul, appears only a few times in Meseta epigraphy. In one of these occurrences, on an altarette from *Arcobriga*, he is hailed as – if the reported reading of the stone is correct – *Mercurius Ocniorocus*, one of only two instances in Central Spain in which a Roman god bears an indigenous epithet (Cerralbo 1987: 20 n. 28; *CIL* II, 2851). ‘Ocniorocus’ might refer to Ogmios, the Gaulish counterpart of Hercules. If so, this illustrates the oft-stated principle that one Celtic deity may be identified with more than one Roman god. One aspect of Mercury that is more emphasized in Celtic than in Roman contexts is his role in commerce. On a relief plaque from *Complutum* and on bronze statuettes from Cubillas de Cerrato (P) and Ubierna (BU), Mercury holds a *marsupium* (purse) in his right hand (Figure 8.4). Mars, recipient of twelve votive inscriptions, may have been syncretized with an indigenous war god, while Diana, amply represented in epigraphy and sculpture, may disguise a Celtic goddess of animal fertility. Similarly Hercules, Fortuna, Venus and other Roman theonyms could overlie Celtic cults through which the worshipper sought strength, luck, sexual fulfilment and so on. Minerva, armed and armoured, had no Celtic equivalent (though warrior goddesses do appear in Irish myth), but the apotropaic powers symbolized by the Medusa head on her aegis would have appealed to Celtic worshippers; there are no fewer than three altars dedicated to this protective deity in the meagre epigraphy of *Ercavica*. To judge from the inscriptions, the worship of Minerva and Mercury was confined to the cities. Diana, Hercules and Mars were worshipped primarily in rural areas, while Jupiter is equally attested in both environments. Fortuna Balnearis (‘luck in the



Figure 8.4 Bronze statuette of Mercury holding a purse, from Cubillas de Cerrato (P) Height 16 cm. First half of first century AD (Museo de Palencia, España).

baths'), worshipped by a soldier at Duratón (SG), is paralleled at military sites elsewhere in the Empire (Perea Yébenes 1997).

Although worship in the home was an essential component of Roman religion, few traces survive in the Meseta of the household gods known as *Lares* and *Penates*. There are indeed two dedications – one at *Clunia*, and one at Cervera del Río Alhama (R) near *Contrebia Leucade* – to the *Lares Viales*, but these are guardian spirits of travellers rather than domestic deities. Only at *Mantua* and Collado-Villalba (M), in the territory of the Carpetani, do we find inscriptions consecrated to the *Lares*. There is also a bronze statuette of a *Lar*, 18 cm high, found at the Roman military camp of Almazán (SO) (Appendix 5). The context is rather puzzling, since the figure is dated

stylistically to the first two centuries AD, whereas the camp was a temporary installation of the second century BC. In Romanized homes we expect to find *lararia*, household shrines for worship of these deities, but only three possible examples have been reported. An altar, incense burner and terracotta statuette, found in the kitchen of the House of the Stuccos at *Complutum*, are believed to belong to such a shrine, while a shelf supporting an uninscribed altarette of alabaster, with a wall painting of the goddess Fortuna behind it, was found in the Flavian level of a house in zone SPP at *Bilbilis* (Rascón Marqués 1995: 73; Martín Bueno 1991: 172). Four vaulted niches, each a metre in diameter and decorated with a sea-shell, were situated in the corners of a room in the villa of Santervás del Burgo (SO). The four niches may indeed have held statuettes, or even family busts, but there is no evidence that they were *lararia* as the excavator suggests (Ortego 1954–5: 179–80, 193). However, since only the foundations are preserved of most ancient houses in our region, the paucity of surviving *lararia* should not be taken as evidence that household gods were not worshipped. In addition to the guardian spirits of the family, we find those of the town or region. The *genius* of the *municipium* of Laminium was honoured in the early second century AD with a silver statue whose base survives, while the *genius* of the *conventus Cluniensis* is commemorated on a dedication at the provincial capital, *Tarraco* (CIL II, 3228; AE 1962, 187; cf. Alföldy 1987b: 32).

Mystery cults from the eastern Mediterranean made modest inroads in the Meseta during the Early Empire. The heads of Cybele and Attis are shown on a pair of bronze handles from *Segisamo*, and there are sculptures of Attis at *Cauca* and Monreal del Llano (CU) (Sanmartí 1969–70; Blanco García and Pérez González 1996; Osuna Ruiz 1976c: appendix). Isis is portrayed on statues at *Clunia* and Valladolid, both of the second century (García y Bellido 1949: nos. 162–3). The torso of a statue of Bacchus has been unearthed at Becilla de Valderaduey (Balil and Martín Valls 1973), and several sites have yielded portraits of his randy attendant Silenus. Mithras, a soldier's god, is not found at all in our region, where there were no troops after the early first century AD. Christianity is not attested here until the Late Empire, though the rival cult of Sol Invictus is the subject of a dedication at Lara de los Infantes (BU).

The deification and worship of emperors, though an alien concept to us, would not have seemed so strange to the ancient Mesetans. By the practice known as *devotio*, the Celtiberians were dedicated to their leaders and considered it disgraceful to survive a battle in which their chief was killed (Valerius Maximus, 2.6.11). If they held their local leaders in such awe, how much greater must have been their admiration for the master of the entire Mediterranean world. Emperor worship, a particular form of public cult, allowed provincials to recognize the superhuman power of the emperors and to display their loyalty to the ruling dynasty. Such worship was facilitated by the new media of lapidary expression borrowed from Roman culture:

epigraphy and representational sculpture in the round. While only a few dedications to the emperors survive, there are numerous statues of members of the imperial family, and dedications to deities assimilated with them, such as Mercury Augustus, Mars Augustus and Pantheus Augustus. Abstract qualities of the emperor are also stressed, in inscriptions dedicated to Victoria Augusta and Concordia Augusta. Although worship of the living emperor (rather than his deified predecessors) was officially discouraged in the West, it was perfectly acceptable to worship his *numen* or guiding spirit. The inscription in bronze letters on the arch at Medinaceli (SO) (Figure 9.5), possibly the city gate of ancient *Ocilis*, has been imaginatively reconstructed from the remaining holes as a dedication to the *numen* of the emperor Domitian, whose name was later removed and replaced with that of Trajan (Abascal and Alföldy 2002: fig. 13); however, the scientific validity of such a conjecture is open to serious question. In the monumental city centre at *Bilbilis* is a dedication to Tiberius (AE 1997: 936) and his bust (Curchin 1996a: 145), as well as statue bases which may represent members of the Imperial family (Keay 1995: 319, mistaking the bust for Claudius). There are also five inscribed statue bases of members of the Julio-Claudian family at *Segobriga* (Abascal *et al.* 1998–9). Although the Imperial cult began under Augustus, a new stage was reached under Vespasian, whose grants of citizenship and municipal status sparked loyal adherence to his regime (Le Roux 1995: 77). A recently discovered bust from *Segobriga*, believed to be of Vespasian (Abascal *et al.* 2001b: 41–2), may reflect this trend. Domitian demanded worship in his own lifetime but suffered *damnatio memoriae* after his death; a sardonix head of this emperor from *Turiaso* was subsequently reworked into one of the deified Augustus (Figure 3.5). In addition to sculpted portraits of numerous members of the Imperial family, we have records of seven local priests of the Imperial cult, some of whose names show them to be indigenes, as well as ten men (mostly from the territory of the Celtiberi) who became provincial priests at *Tarraco* (Curchin 1996a).

Religious personnel: priests and worshippers

Ancient sources make no reference to Celtiberian priests, yet it is scarcely conceivable that there were no religious specialists, corresponding to the Druids familiar in other Celtic lands. Human figures wearing a conical hats, depicted on painted pottery, are thought to represent possible priests (Figure 8.5); the pointed cap is a typical costume of a Celtic shaman or wizard (Argente Oliver 1990a: 55; Cowan 1993: 64). The *uiros ueramos* ‘supreme man’, mentioned in a Celtiberian cultic inscription from Peñalba de Villastar (TE), might also be a priest (Gómez-Fraile 2001: 372). Nonetheless, parallels from other cultures, including Rome, suggest that political leaders could function as priests. Assuming a ritual role would give chiefs greater power to control the forces of nature (Joyce 1997: 150); this might also

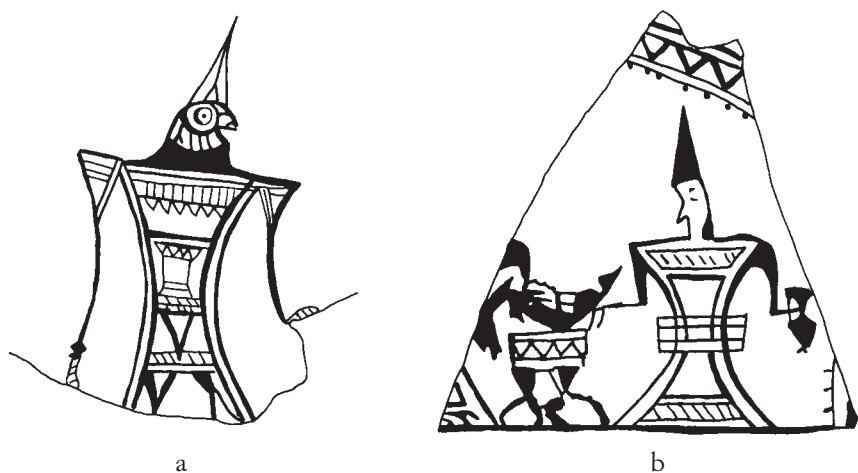


Figure 8.5 Possible priests, on painted vases from *Numantia* (after Paris 1914–19 and F. Romero Carnicero 1976).

explain the devotion shown towards Spanish chiefs by their followers. A possible example is Olyndicus, leader of a Celtiberian revolt around 170 BC, who is described by Florus (1.33.13) as ‘a man of great craft’ and ‘similar to a prophet’. Roman religion brought its own priesthoods, but the only ones attested epigraphically are those of the Imperial cult. Seven local *flamines* as well as a *flaminica* are known, and some also became priests at the *conventus* and provincial level. The provincial priests, who served at *Tarraco*, had all been local magistrates in Meseta towns, and several of them can be shown from their voting tribe (Galeria or Quirina) to have received Roman citizenship through office-holding. There are also several *seviri Augustales*, junior religious officials chosen largely from the freedman class, who had to pay a fee (*summa honoraria*) for this appointment. Curiously, all the known examples come from the southern Meseta (Hurtado Aguña 2001). An inscription from *Toletum* records that a *sevir* provided circuses as his admission fee (AE 1986, 428). Both the *flamines* and *seviri* are sometimes found in small towns, showing that the Imperial cult was not confined to major centres as is sometimes supposed. At *Segobriga* we find a peculiar religious college, the *sodales Claudiani*, clearly associated with worship of the deified Claudius (Curchin 1996a: 147–9). We also have several possible representations of priests in statuary. A bronze statuette from Paredes de Nava (P), now lost, showed a supposed priest wearing a tall headdress like a mitre, and playing a flute, while a terracotta example from *Termes* depicted ‘a *sacerdos* with a box’ (Revilla Vielva 1948–51, vol. 1: 123; Taracena 1941: 108). A bronze figurine found near *Turiaso*, a male figure holding an offering

bowl and wearing a cape with a conical hood, may also be a priest (Bona López and Hernández Vera 1989: 124–5). More secure is an extant bronze figurine of the first century AD, found in the theatre at *Segobriga*, representing a priest with covered head, who holds a plate (*patera*) in his right hand and a staff or scroll in the left (Aznar *et al.* 1990: 206, no. 80).

We do not know whether worship of major indigenous gods like Lugus was universal or confined to the elite, with the poorer folk venerating less exalted spirits. Similarly in the Roman period, we have to ask if the worshippers of Roman deities were mostly the elite (though a few are explicitly designated as slaves, freedmen or soldiers), while the ‘silent majority’ continued to revere native gods. Be that as it may, Roman gods figure more often epigraphically than indigenous ones in most of our chiefdoms (cf. Appendices 3 and 4), and the very practice of erecting a votive memorial shows that people had adopted the Roman habit of negotiating with the gods. The worshippers of both indigenous and Roman deities in all six chiefdoms are predominantly male; the ratio of males to females ranges from about 2:1 among the Celtiberi to 4:1 among the Pelendones. However, the worshippers of female deities are predominantly female. Among the female worshippers may be mentioned the *mulieres Albo.umes(es)* who dedicate to Diana at Gálvez (TO), and the worshippers at the same goddess’s rock sanctuary at *Segobriga*, where four out of the five dedicants are female (AE 1992, 1045; 1985, 620). The nomenclature of worshippers includes a mixture of *tria nomina*, *duo nomina* and single names. Those with *duo* or *tria nomina* outnumber those with single name, regardless of whether the deity worshipped is indigenous or Roman. Moreover, the names themselves are predominantly Roman rather than Celtic, again regardless of the type of god being worshipped. The prevalence of Roman over native nomenclature seems to indicate a considerable degree of Romanization among the worshippers; but against this evidence we must weigh the number of dedications to non-Roman gods and the probability that many worshippers did not leave behind a Latin inscription. Differences in the size and decoration of altars may reflect the varied economic status of the worshippers. In addition to epigraphy, ex-voto figurines in human (usually male) form, presumably representing worshippers, have been found on many sites, but we have no way of identifying the dedicants.

Monumentalizing religion

The sanctuary (*nemeton*) was an important feature of Celtic religion, though it rarely leaves a trace archaeologically. In its simplest form, the *nemeton* is simply a natural sacred place (a forest clearing, mountain top, rock, spring or field) rather than a man-made structure. Only at a comparatively late date – in Gaul, the second century BC – is the open-air sanctuary enclosed by an earthen embankment or stone wall. Some evidence of Celtic sanctuaries in

Central Spain can be gleaned from ancient written sources. The poet Martial (1.49.5–10, 4.55.23) refers to ‘the sacred oak grove of Burado’, the venerated mountains Caius (modern Moncayo) and Vadavero, and a lake of the nymphs, all in the neighbourhood of his native *Bilbilis*. Rural inscriptions of the Roman period, dedicated to nymphs and other nature spirits, probably reflect continuing worship in outdoor sanctuaries. In a wooded area 500 metres south-west of *Segobriga*, and within a few metres of a spring-fed well, is a rocky hillside carved with five votive panels showing a goddess flanked by hunting-dogs, and inscribed dedications to Diana; the conjunction of mountain, spring and woods made this an ideal location for a sanctuary (Alföldy 1985; Almagro-Gorbea 1995c). The fact that as late as AD 681 the twelfth Council of Toledo condemned rites practised amidst woods, springs and sacred rocks (E.A. Thompson 1969: 309) shows the endurance of the *nemetes* in our region even beyond the Roman period.

Sanctuaries were often located on mountains or in caves. Most famous is the open-air sanctuary of Peñalba de Villastar, already mentioned, with an inscription naming Lugus and cylindrical rock-cut holes suggestive of sacrifice. Several pre-Roman cave sanctuaries have been identified in Segovia province, where rock-carved Latin inscriptions suggest that worship persisted into Roman times. One of these, the Cueva de La Griega near Pedraza, bears epigraphic mention of *Nemedus Augustus*, an indigenous deity curiously syncretized with the emperor, as well as records of vows made by visitors – all male, including several apparent slaves – one of them a vow for a journey (*pro itu*) (Corchón 1997: 207, 239). The ‘Cave of the Seven Altars’ near Sepúlveda, of Visigothic date, may continue the pre-Roman phenomenon of cave worship (Knapp 1992: nos. 290, 316; Linage Conde 1989: 132). The Cueva de San García near Santo Domingo de Silos (BU), which has on one wall a Celtiberian inscription of uncertain reading, may be another sacred cave (Moure Romanillo and García-Soto 1986). A cave bearing the Roman-period rock inscription, *ianua arcus Dianae* (‘entrance to the grotto of Diana’), may continue a pre-Roman cave cult (Hoyo 2000). Lastly, the Cueva de Román near *Clunia*, a cavern which provided the ancient city’s water supply, contained ithyphallic human figurines, as well as clay phalli and Latin inscriptions of ‘Hermes, (slave?) of Aion’ and local magistrates scratched in the mud on the floor. It has been imaginatively interpreted as a sanctuary of Priapus, or as an underground facility for mud therapy (as suggested by the word *lutor*, conceivably meaning a user of *lutum* ‘mud’, in one of the inscriptions) (Palol and Vilella 1987: 129–56; Gasperini 1995). A more moderate approach is to see the phallic objects as votive deposits associated with an unknown fertility cult, continuing the pre-Roman tradition of cave sanctuaries.

Subscription to Roman cults, especially in the cities, necessitated the adoption of Romanized places of worship. These may first have been introduced by the Roman army, if we accept Schulten’s identification of a *sacellum*

in the praetorium of a second-century BC camp at Renieblas (SO) (Schulten 1909: 538). Although the ruins of 'temples' have been reported at numerous sites, the only reasonably secure temple buildings are those at *Bilbilis*, *Clunia* and *Termes*. The principal temple at *Bilbilis* stands upon a high podium (45 by 20 metres) at the north end of the forum (Figure 8.6). It is Corinthian hexastyle, 13.8 by 16 metres, built perhaps in the time of Tiberius with repairs under Trajan, and may belong to the Imperial cult. Two smaller shrines have been found, one of Ionic order with ornamental elements of the early first century AD and a wall painting of the goddess Fortuna to whom it was perhaps dedicated, the other near the chapel of San Paterno at the west end of the city, reported by Schulten in 1932 and rediscovered in 1986 (Martín Bueno 1975b: 155–8; 1987a, vol. 2: 371; 1987b: 103 and fig. 2). At *Clunia* also, three religious buildings have been identified. At the south-east end of the forum stands a temple 38 metres long on a podium 14 metres wide, with – unusually for a Roman temple – an apse of 4.5 metres diameter at the rear. A statue of Jupiter and an inscription of Minerva confirm that this is the Capitolium; Suetonius (*Galba* 9.2) also refers to a temple and priest of Jupiter at *Clunia*. The remains suggest that it was fronted by four



Figure 8.6 Temple complex atop the hill of *Bilbilis*, with theatre visible on the near slope.

Corinthian columns (Gutiérrez Behemerid and Subías Pascual 2000). It has been argued that the apse at the rear of the *cella* was the site of an oracle, because the Suetonius passage refers to a prophecy uttered by a girl (Mierse 1999: 185). However, Suetonius (*Galba* 9.2) adds that this took place in the second century BC, long before the temple existed. Three of the *tabernae* on the east side of the forum, forming a three-naved religious edifice with striated pilasters and statues of Julio-Claudian emperors, appear to be a shrine of the Imperial cult. A building north of the basilica, surrounded by a *temenos* and entered from the *cardo* running into the north side of the forum, is possibly an *aedes Augusti* (Palol 1989–90). At *Termes*, apart from the rubble of an alleged temple with a statue and inscribed pedestal of Apollo (Calvo 1913: 382–3), we find at the south end of the forum (Figure 4.2) a monumental building once interpreted as a basilica, which excavation in 1982–1984 showed to be a temple. It consists of a podium 22.7 by 16.3 metres, accessed by a staircase on the north, supporting a *cella* 10.6 by 9.1 metres. The find of a coin of Tiberius next to the foundation suggests a Julio-Claudian date, and the temple possibly belongs to the Imperial cult (Izquierdo Bertiz 1992). The Imperial cult could also be celebrated in public areas such as forum or amphitheatre. Sculptural evidence suggests that the theatre complex at *Segobriga* was used for this purpose (Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 1989: 182–4), and attached to the local senate-house at *Ercavica* is a room containing busts of Lucius and possibly Julius Caesar (Osuna Ruiz 1993: 22–4).

The 'rite' stuff: festivals and sacrifices

A festival is a religious ceremony occurring at regular intervals, and several are attested in the Meseta. The most famous is the monthly plenilunary festival recorded by Strabo (3.4.16): 'The Celtiberians and their neighbours to the north sacrifice at night to an unnamed god, at the time of the full moon, in front of their doors, and entire households dance and celebrate all night'. Analogous nocturnal festivals are recorded among the Gauls and Britons. The waxing and waning of the moon were associated with the vegetation cycle and with human fertility, so the dance may have had a regenerative purpose (Sopeña Genzor 1995: 38). Strabo refers elsewhere (3.3.7) to the Celtiberian custom of dancing at banquets, and a Numantine vase showing a running man with his arms inserted into long, striped horns perhaps represents a dance connected with a bull cult (F. Romero Carnicero 1976: 147 and fig. 6.23). The *Lugus* inscription from Peñalba de Villastar contains the word *tiaso*, presumably equivalent to Latin *thiasus*, a dance or procession in honour of a god. At the end of the first century AD, Martial (10.103.7–8) reminds his fellow-citizens of *Bilbilis* that every year while he has been in Rome, they have offered their rustic cakes (*liba*) to Ceres without him; this implies an annual agricultural festival of Ceres, perhaps perpetuating

in Romanized guise a Celtic mother goddess. Festivals are often connected with rites of passage, marking the transition to a new stage in human life or a new year in the calendar. At *Numantia* in the second century BC a special day was set aside, presumably once a year, on which fathers would give their daughters in marriage 'in the customary manner' (*sollemni*); if there was more than one suitor, the father might propose a contest, such as bringing back the severed hand of an enemy (Anonymous, *De viris illustribus* 59). This is reminiscent of Irish sagas in which a suitor must perform a feat of bravery to win the hand of his beloved, and the obligation of Carmanian men to decapitate an enemy before they can marry (Strabo, 15.2.14). The Roman New Year was a festival marked by kind words, new clothes, and *strenae* (handsels) of sweets, coins or other gifts. A possible example of a New Year's gift is a glass bottle found at *Complutum*, its base decorated with the propitious fertility motif of an ithyphallic ass (Consuegra Cano 1988).

Another possible rite of passage is suggested by Roman-period bath houses at such sites as *Termes* and *Ercavica*. Instead of the usual arrangement with *caldarium* and *tepidarium*, these are steam baths (*laconica*), in which stones were heated and water poured over them to produce vapour. At *Termes* these rooms are circular, as recommended by Vitruvius (5.10); at *Ercavica*, rectangular. The bather would then take a plunge in a cold pool, of which a well-preserved example has been excavated at *Ercavica*. Although no literary source discusses Celtiberian baths, Strabo (3.3.6) records among the Lusitanians the 'Laconian' practice of a steam bath followed by immersion in cold water. This has led to speculation that the Meseta *laconica* are 'ritual baths' associated with the initiation of boys into manhood, and a large quantity of buried ceramic vessels found in the *Ercavica* baths has been interpreted as 'remains of a ritual of difficult explanation' (Almagro-Gorbea and Moltó 1992: 82; Almagro-Gorbea and Álvarez-Sanchís 1993: 198–201; Barroso and Morín de Pablos 1997). The Laconian city of Sparta is well known for making its young men (*epheboi*) undergo rigorous initiations, including gymnastic training, though there is no evidence that steam baths were part of these rites; likewise, there is no proof that the Celtiberians (or Lusitanians, for that matter) used steam baths for ritual purposes. Nor does the presence of *laconica* necessarily indicate non-Roman practice: Vitruvius tells Roman architects how to build such facilities, and Martial (6.42.16–18) tells us that the baths of Claudius Etruscus at Rome were of Laconian style, providing dry heat followed by a cold plunge.

Archaeology preserves tantalizing remains of ritual deposits. A whole antler found inside the fabric of the rampart at Blacos (SO) was undoubtedly the remnant of an animal sacrifice to secure divine protection for the wall (Loperráez 1788, vol. 1: 32–3). The Celts were especially fond of making votive offerings to water spirits; in Roman times this often takes the form of coins thrown into rivers or springs. A possible example of this practice is the discovery of more than 3,000 coins in the bed of the river Burejo, just south

of *Pisoraca*. While this could conceivably be a coin hoard originally buried on land but overtaken by the shifting course of the river, it is equally possible that we have the site of a water deposit ritual in use throughout the Early Empire (Pérez González *et al.* 1992: 23–4). At *Turiaso*, a four-lobed pool belonging to a fountain yielded a variety of objects, including terracotta figurines, deer horns and a marble head of Minerva, that might be offerings to a water cult, and the pool may thus be part of a ritual complex (M. Beltrán Lloris *et al.* 1980: 118–19). The association of Minerva with cults of healing waters (such as Sulis Minerva at Bath) is well known.

Sacrifice was important both to the gods, for whom it provided nourishment and energy, and to their worshippers, who hoped for divine favours in return. Since the sacrifice of an entire animal represented a considerable economic loss for a peasant family in rural society, such activity might be reserved for special occasions, such as spring and autumn grain festivals, or crises such as war or illness. In Central Spain, both public and private sacrifices are attested. In the 140s BC, we are told that the people of *Segobriga* were so engrossed in a sacrifice – whether animal or human is not specified – that they were caught in a surprise attack by Viriathus (Frontinus, *Stratagems* 3.11.4). It was Celtic custom to sacrifice before a battle; perhaps the Segobrigenses were performing this rite in anticipation of a battle with Viriathus' army, which arrived sooner than expected. A painted sherd from pre-Roman *Numantia* (Figure 8.5 b), which is sometimes thought to represent a sacrifice, shows a long-haired figure wearing a conical hat and floor-length gown, holding a vase with one hand and a pair of birds on an altar or brazier with the other, while a similarly robed figure on the left, only partly visible, holds what may be a curved knife near the birds' heads (Sopeña Genzor 1995: fig. 10). The vase might refer to libation – the pouring of liquid, usually wine, on the flaming altar after the sacrifice – but the scene is fragmentary and of doubtful interpretation. From the Roman period, a now-lost relief from Duratón (SG) depicted a ceremony in which two male figures were involved in sacrificing a boar on an altar (Molinero 1949: 573). Though boar sacrifices were not unknown at Rome – Horace (*Odes* 3.22) mentions a boar sacrifice to Diana – the boar was an especially sacred animal among the Celts, so this relief probably reflects continuity of Celtic sacrificial custom. Another relief, from Cenicientos (M) depicts at the top a more Romanized scene with three togate male figures standing on either side of an altar, while the lower register shows two animals, one of them a recumbent bull (Mangas *et al.* 1988: 58). In addition to these reliefs, there are also a large number of stone altars in the Meseta, engraved with the names of the deity and the dedicant, and an indication of the reason for the altar: in fulfilment of a vow (*ex voto*), in response to a vision (*ex visu*), or for the health (*pro salute*) of a third party (Gamer 1989: 256). An animal would normally be sacrificed to consecrate the altar. Although the surviving altars are Roman, the practice of vowing them in exchange for divine favours seems to have appealed to the

largely Celtic population, as evidenced by the indigenous names of dedicants and even deities on these monuments. However, the relatively small number of inscribed altars among the Vaccaei and Turmogi (which cannot merely reflect a reluctance to use Latin epigraphy, since the number of funerary inscriptions in these territories is quite high) shows that the practice was not well entrenched in these 'backwoods' areas (Curchin 1986a: 694 and fig. 3). Also surviving are examples of sacrificial equipment. Bronze ladles and plates for making libations have been found on numerous sites, while a bronze altarpiece from *Ercavica* depicts a number of sacrificial vessels together with a priest's cap and a garlanded bull's head (Figure 8.7) (Osuna Ruiz 1976a: no. 12).

'Sacrificial stones' or altars have been identified on several sites, sometimes associated with human bones or with channels and basins thought to be used to collect the blood of human victims. In some cases these identifications are figments of the excavator's imagination; in others (such as at *Termes*, where a large number of bulls' horns were found in the same context) they may have been intended for animal sacrifice (Blázquez Martínez 1983, vol. 2: 228). The open-air sanctuary of Peñalba de Villastar contains cylindrical holes and channels cut in the rock, but whether for blood or water cannot be ascertained (Marco Simón 1986: 746–7). A more likely example of human sacrifice is found at *Bilbilis*, where excavation inside a tower of the city wall revealed the skeletal remains of three adults. The first lay face-down in what the excavator describes as a violent posture, with his arms and legs spread as though the corpse had been thrown rather than buried there. The second individual had been bent into the fetal position, with the knees folded so tightly against the face that the body must have been bound after the flesh had already begun to decompose. Of the third skeleton, only scant fragments survived. With the human remains were found those of two birds (possibly crows) and several mammals, identified as a pig, a sheep and a marten (Martín Bueno 1975a; 1982b). These human and animal victims have been seen as foundation deposits for the tower, though in fact they occur in a later fill layer rather than under the floor. At least one scholar would go further and identify the *Bilbilis* killings as sacrifices to the god Lugus (Salinas de Frías 1983a), but this is stretching the evidence too far. The tight binding of

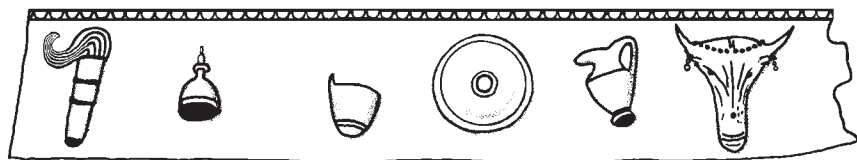


Figure 8.7 Bronze plaque depicting liturgical equipment, from *Ercavica*. 77.5 x 15 cm. Late first or early second century AD.

one of the victims was probably intended to prevent the deceased from walking, while the prone posture of the first individual (if not accidental) may have served the similar purpose of steering the dead away from the realm of the living.

Sometimes associated with human sacrifice is the concept of the *rête coupée* or severed head. As we know from literary sources, the Celts nailed their enemies' skulls to the entrances of their houses, or embalmed the head in cedar oil and kept it in a chest. Stone shrines decorated with real or sculpted human skulls have been found in southern France. Severed heads served partly as military trophies, advertising their owners' valour in battle, but they also had an important apotropaic function. In Celtic belief, the soul resided in the head, even after death; therefore, possessing someone's head gave you control of his spirit and personal powers. A multiplicity of heads would be even more potent. The frequent depiction of human heads in Celtic art reflects the same idea, the head as a source of power and luck. It was thus a propitious emblem that could be used to decorate all manner of artifacts. In some cases, the heads may refer specifically to a tutelary deity – gods were sometimes shown by a head alone – or even the persona of the object's owner; we are unlikely to know for sure. At *Numantia*, four human skulls without lower jaws or other skeletal remains, which were found in the cellar of a Celtiberian house and appeared to have fallen from a room on the ground floor, may be trophy heads (Taracena 1943). The removal of the lower mandible, paralleled at several sites in Roman Britain, may have been an attempt to prevent the dead from talking and uttering curses or magical spells (Merrifield 1987: 37–8). Even more sinister are the reported finds, in inhumation cemeteries in the eastern Meseta (Soria, Guadalajara and Cuenca provinces), of skeletons whose skulls were pierced by nails, sometimes specified as being made of iron (Ceán Bermúdez 1832: 104; Pastora 1883; Obermaier 1928; M. López 1949–53, vol. 1: 41). Since the funerary rite in pre-Roman Iron Age cemeteries of the Meseta is invariably cremation, buried corpses with iron nails must be Roman or later, though it is possible that more than one period is represented. The head of the deceased was presumably nailed to the floor of the coffin to prevent the ghost from leaving the tomb – a practice known to anthropologists as 'second killing'.

The medium in which the Celtic fascination with the human head appears most conspicuously and copiously is sculpture. In the art of the Meseta, human heads can often be seen on reliefs, on sculpture in the round, on metalwork, and (painted or in relief) on pottery. Of particular interest are the two grotesque human heads carved in stone at ancient *Valeria*, dating to approximately the late second century AD (Osuna Ruiz *et al.* 1978: pls. LV–LVI). Such grotesque representations are well attested in various cultures (including the Gorgon head in Greek myth) as an apotropaic device to ward off the evil eye. Another remarkable stone sculpture, from Reñillo (CU), shows a lion holding a human head between its paws (Osuna Ruiz 1976c:

43); this example is reminiscent of a pre-Roman statue from Noves (France) in which a fantastic beast grips a severed head in each of his forepaws (Cunliffe 1979: 107). But perhaps the most interesting of all are the fibulas in the shape of a horse, with a human head positioned in front of the forelegs (Figure 8.8), which seem to verify the reports of ancient writers that the Celts cut off their enemies' heads and suspended them from the necks of their steeds (Diodorus Siculus, 5.29.4; Strabo, 4.4.5; Livy, 10.26.11).

Conclusions

The persistence of indigenous cults in the provinces is usually explained in terms of the Romans being tolerant of other religions so long as they did not threaten Roman security. This is a colonialist, Romanocentric perspective that privileges the viewpoint of the Romans, portraying them as indulgent imperialists (J. Webster 1997). A likelier explanation is that provincials continued to worship their traditional deities, who had long provided them with a credible explanation of the world around them, because they saw no reason to stop. While Roman deities in inscriptions outnumber indigenous ones by nearly two to one, the many worshippers who chose not to set up Latin inscriptions may have been adherents of non-Roman cults. Moreover, whereas a large proportion of divine inscriptions and sculptures come from

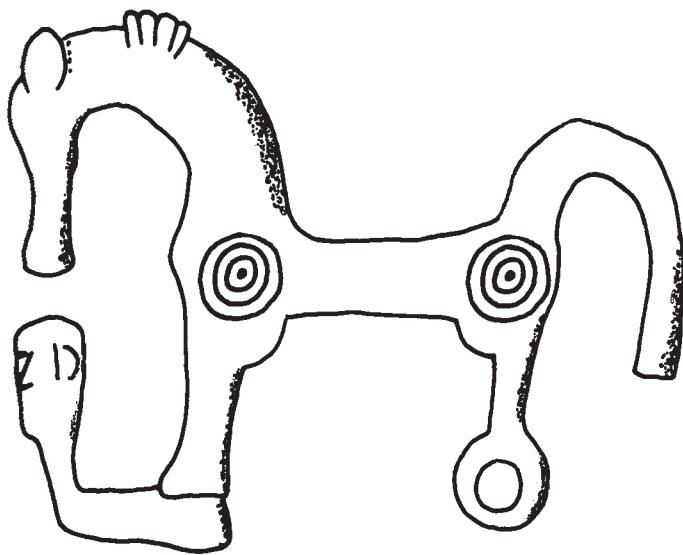


Figure 8.8 Fibula in shape of a horse, with a human head in front of its forelegs. Found near *Clunia*.

the cities, the vast majority of the population lived in the countryside, where they likely continued to venerate indigenous nature spirits. Thus our material evidence for religion suggests a greater degree of assimilation than probably existed. Yet the urban—rural dichotomy provides only a partial explanation, since indigenous divinities are found in urban contexts and Roman ones in rural. Instead we must see the co-existence of indigenous and Roman cults in terms of an integration of two religions into a new, provincial religion in which both Celtic and classical gods could be worshipped without apparent contradiction. In the cities at least, classical religion flourished, with Roman-style temples, priests, sacrificial equipment and so on.

Integration of indigenous and Roman tradition is further suggested by dedications to such deities as *Matres*, *Nymphae* and I.O.M., who seem to overlap the boundary between Celtic and Roman. However, the artistic representation of gods in human form and the erection of written dedications are Roman innovations alien to Iron Age culture (cf. Wells 1999: 184). Sculptures – even small terracotta figurines – and shrines brought an unwonted visibility to cult practices. The hierarchical pantheon of Roman deities offered a more structured approach to religion, which may have made it easier for people to rationalize their surroundings. Yet, while adopting some Roman religious forms and ceremonies, Mesetans retained certain pre-Roman practices such as worship in cave sanctuaries and the engraving of solar symbols on altars. The people of Central Spain thus had access to a variety of religious traditions, and took an eclectic approach in choosing which gods and rituals might work for them.

Emperor worship provided a new channel for religious activity, though one recalling Celtiberian devotion to military leaders. Sculptures of emperors, inscriptions recording priests and *seviri* of the Imperial cult, and the plausible association of temples at *Bilbilis*, *Clunia* and *Termes* with this cult, provide significant testimony of the important influence of Imperial ideology in Meseta religion. However, we must recognize a difference in scope between emperor worship and conventional religion: whereas the Imperial cult essentially involved a public display of loyalty to the ruling political dynasty, dedications of votive figurines or inscribed altars to particular deities reflected personal convictions about whether an indigenous or a Roman god – or a combination of the two – was more potent. Moreover, while the cult was largely political, the motivation for these monuments was similar to that for dedications to the gods: the hope of favour from a superhuman power.

LINGUISTIC TRANSFORMATIONS

. . . those who had once despised the Latin tongue were
aspiring to speak it eloquently.

(Tacitus, *Agricola* 21)

Language is an entrenched feature of culture, and it was only after prolonged contact with the Romans that the provincials abandoned their traditional language in favour of Latin. To understand how this occurred, we must recognize that language is not just a means of casual communication, but a system of symbols whose meaning is enshrined in a code (Parsons 1966: 20). This symbolism becomes especially apparent when language is written, because its significance extends not only to the words but to the choice of materials and their psychological impact (Bowman and Woolf 1994: 9). Written documents provide stability in many social relations, thereby enabling greater complexity in social organization, for words are the only images capable of conveying complex relationships (Parsons 1966: 27; Woolf 1996: 29). It was writing that made urbanization possible, for administration of a city required complex record-keeping (Sweet 1997: 37). Moreover, since language establishes and maintains cultural boundaries (Anderson and Carter 1999: 60), the Latinization of the Meseta appears to represent the breakdown or replacement of Celtiberian cultural boundaries. By adopting the conqueror's ready-made language and alphabet, Rome's subjects were able to acquire a new identity and to alter their social position and living conditions (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 65). Yet we must be careful not to simplify: the use of Latin could disguise a bilingual situation in which the old language remained vibrant (Le Roux 1998: 14). Our evidence for the use of Latin is almost totally in written form and cannot prove that Latin was the usual language of conversation. To trace the process of Latinization, it is first essential to appreciate the nature of the Celtiberian language. We shall then examine how and when the peoples of Central Spain adopted the language of the Romans in their everyday lives, and to what extent personal and place names were Latinized. The evidence for literacy in our region will also be analysed.

The Celtiberian language is known partly from evidence in Roman literature and epigraphy – consisting almost exclusively of onomastic material – and partly from the more than one hundred surviving Celtiberian inscriptions, of which a comprehensive edition has recently appeared (Untermann 1997: 535–722). Since the Celtiberians had no writing system of their own, they used either the Iberian script (which was partly alphabetic, partly syllabic) or the Latin alphabet. The Iberian script was somewhat clumsy for this purpose, since it was designed for a non-Indo-European language with different phonetics. Thus the Iberian sign *te* had to stand for both *te* and *de* in Celtiberian, while Iberian *ko* could represent *ko* or *go* (as in the various toponyms beginning *Sego-*). Moreover, the Iberian sign *s* could have the value of either *s* or *z* (a sound midway between a dental and a sibilant, possibly pronounced ‘dh’ or ‘ds’), depending on its position in the word (F. Villar 1995: 68). Despite these shortcomings, it was evidently easier for the Celtiberians to adopt an existing script than to invent one *ex nihilo*; a similar situation obtains among the Gauls, who borrowed the Greek alphabet from their Massilian neighbours.

Some of the Celtiberian inscriptions are written in Iberian characters on bronze, including numerous hospitality tokens and a longer inscription from Luzaga (GU), which has been interpreted as everything from a treaty to a patronage tablet (Curchin 1999). The longest preserved texts (named Botorrita I, III and IV) come from outside the Meseta, at *Contrebia Belaisca* (Botorrita, Z) in the Ebro valley. There are also a few epitaphs on stone, as well as a large number of graffiti (mostly the names of the owners) on ceramic vessels or clay loom-weights. Inscriptions from the more westerly areas use a slightly different script, with rounder characters, than those further east (Untermann 1997: 441–2). Since rectilinear characters are ideal for engraving on hard surfaces, this western script may have been used principally for written or painted inscriptions on perishable items which do not survive. Other Celtiberian inscriptions are carved in Latin letters on rock walls, such as the mountain of Peñalba de Villastar (TE) (Figure 9.1) and the cave of La Griega near Pedraza (SG) (Untermann 1977; Corchón 1997). The texts, even those in Iberian script, are not particularly early: most are believed to date to the first century BC, though a few may be late second century (Curchin 1994b: 92). Another important group of documents is the Celtiberian coins, which give the name of the issuing town in Iberian script; these begin in the mid-second century BC and continue into the first (see chapter 7).

The transition to Latin

Since we have almost no data for oral language in Central Spain, it is difficult to gauge the speed or extent of the Latinization of popular speech. Despite Untermann’s claim that there is no explicit evidence for individuals mastering both Celtiberian and Latin (Untermann 1995b: 306), it seems clear that



Figure 9.1 The ‘inscribed mountain’ of Peñalba de Villastar (TE) (courtesy of Dr. Francisco Burillo).

some indigenes understood Latin by the second century BC. When Celtiberian auxiliaries were employed by the armies of conquest, their leaders at least must have been able to communicate with Roman commanders and to translate Latin orders into the language of their followers. In 151 BC the envoys of the Belli and Titthi were literate enough to present a convincing case to the Senate: ‘Although they were foreigners,’ says Polybius (35.2.6), ‘they delivered speeches and endeavoured to explain all contentious issues clearly’. Polybius gives the impression that the ambassadors on this occasion spoke in Latin; yet this was not necessarily the case, for Cicero (*De divinatione* 2.131) states that Spanish envoys could not be understood if they addressed the Senate in their own language without the help of an interpreter. There must therefore have been bilingual interpreters at Rome, as well as in Spain itself, to facilitate communications between Romans and Celtiberians. It is possible that there were Roman soldiers who, through extended contact with the natives, had learnt their language and could act as translators; at any rate, it appears there were members of the Carthaginian army who could do so (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 238e). But most interpreters were probably indigenes, who had acquired a knowledge of Latin while serving as auxiliaries. Latinization was facilitated by the fact that the Italic and Celtic languages

are quite closely related; therefore, learning Latin did not involve as steep a learning curve for a Celtiberian as it did for inhabitants of the eastern or African provinces.

However, surviving evidence does not tell us at what point in time the bulk of the population learnt Latin (if it ever did), or at what point Latin became the language of preference; the increasing use of written Latin in inscriptions during the Early Empire is no guarantee that Latin was the dominant tongue of the region, rather than a second language. While we may reasonably assume that spoken Latin became common among members of the indigenous elite, who recognized it as the language of power and prestige, we lack adequate information on the language of the lower class, many of whose members could afford neither inscriptions nor education. The peasant of *Termes* who was arrested for assassinating L. Calpurnius Piso, a rapacious *legatus iuridicus* of Hispania Citerior, answered his interrogators in his native tongue (*sermone patrio*: Tacitus, *Annals* 4.45). This was in AD 25; the question is, how much longer this *sermo patrius* continued to be spoken. The fact that modern Castilian is descended from Latin, with some Germanic (Visigothic) and Arabic overlays, suggests that the Celtic languages of the Meseta had essentially died out, or at least declined beyond resuscitation, by the end of the Roman period (fifth century AD). Latin must therefore have become the prevailing spoken language, not just a literary or administrative one, though in most mouths it would have been popular ('vulgar') Latin rather than the diction of Cicero, and was probably spoken with a regional accent. However, it is likely that Celtic languages, or a mixture of Celtic and Latin, were still spoken in rural districts, among the lower strata of society, and among women. Cicero (*De oratore* 3.12.45) notes that women, being less exposed to a variety of languages, tend to retain their native tongue. Moreover, in contrast to Strabo's claim for Baetica (3.2.15) that the Spaniards had forgotten their own language, many people in the Meseta must have been bilingual, using Latin in public but speaking Celtiberian at home. They may also have used a Celtiberian name among family and friends, which differed from the Latin name used in public. A similar pattern of linguistic tension can be seen in modern times in former European colonies abroad.

The conversion of popular speech from Celtic to Latin was not a change imposed by the Roman rulers. Although Latin was the language of government in the western provinces, there was no policy to force provincials to speak Latin. And certainly Latinization did not occur quickly: Rome conquered Central Spain in the second century BC, and there were Latin-speaking elite in Meseta cities under the Julio-Claudians, but the majority of the population would probably not have spoken Latin until at least the second century AD. The reason for the change was most probably convenience: provincials learned Latin because it was expedient for them. Latin was the language of administration, the judicial system, and Mediterranean

commerce. It was therefore difficult to understand laws and regulations, to conduct business, to take someone to court, or to deal with tax officials and other bureaucrats, without an understanding of Latin. The more you increased your Latin 'word power', the greater was your prestige in the community. Despite the strength of indigenous linguistic tradition, Latin had distinct, practical advantages over the Celtic languages, and eventually won out. An analogous process can be seen in the modern Celtic languages: Cornish and Manx have already become extinct, while Irish, Scots Gaelic and Breton are unlikely to survive the twenty-first century (Price 1995). Just as these modern languages are unable to compete with English and French, so the ancient Celtic languages of Spain could not compete successfully with Latin, the *lingua franca* of the Roman world. They were victims, not of Roman policy, but of the greater convenience of Roman language. The transition was eased by the fact that Latin is structurally quite similar to the Celtic languages – more similar, indeed, than it is to Greek.

The earliest written language for which we have evidence in Central Spain is the use of Iberian script for Celtiberian coin legends, beginning in the mid-second century BC. It was probably through commercial contacts that Celtiberians became acquainted with this script, which was at home on the east coast and in the Ebro valley (Hoz 1995: 21–3; Untermann 1995a: 197–8). Around the mid-first century BC, we get the first use of the Roman alphabet on coin legends, namely those of *Clunia*, *Segobriga* and *Toletum*. However, only the last of these (in ablative case, TOLETO) is in Latin; the language of the others (SEGOBRIS and CLOVNIOQ) is still Celtiberian (Villaronga 1979: 183, 229, 242; Untermann 1995b: 310). But in contrast to the coinage of the east coast, there are no bilingual legends. By the time of Augustus, all coin legends have been Latinized. Also datable to the first century BC are most of the zoomorphic hospitality tokens in the Celtiberian language, many written in Iberian script but a few in Roman; it is likely that these overlap in time, with both writing systems being used before the Roman alphabet finally triumphed (Figure 6.4). Several rock-carved Celtiberian inscriptions at Peñalba de Villastar were also written in Latin letters (Untermann 1997: no. K.3.3–K.3.21). This use of Roman script for writing the indigenous language facilitated the transition to written Latin. The earliest inscriptions using Latin language as well as script are a dolphin-shaped *tessera hospitalis* from Fuentes Claras (TE) with legend QVOM METELLINEIS TESSERA 'token (of friendship) with the Metellini' (HEp 5, 776), and a stele engraved with the image of a Celtiberian warrior and the epitaph 'Toutius and Treba (set this up) for Gaius Vitius of the Ligerici, son of Vitius, and for Gaius Saldis of the Clouterici', reused in the doorway of the first-century AD basilica at *Clunia* (Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 100). Both date probably to the first century BC. The number of Latin inscriptions dating to the Republican period is thus extremely small. From the time of Augustus – apart from milestones and the boundary markers of *legio IIII Macedonica*,

which would have been set up by Roman soldiers – we have two bronze hospitality tokens (one between *Palantia* and Acces of *Intercatia*, the other between *Maggava* and Amparus of *Cusabura*) bearing consular dates of 2 BC and AD 14, respectively (*CIL* II, 5763; *AE* 1967, 239). Between AD 12 and 14, L. Turellius Geminus set up statues of Germanicus and the younger Drusus at *Segobriga* (*CIL* II, 3103–04; cf. Alföldy 1987b: 77), and three other inscriptions from this city are reported to have lettering of the Augustan period (*CIL* II, 3108, 6312; Rada y Delgado and Fita 1889: 123). In the course of the first century AD the number of Latin inscriptions increases dramatically; most of them date between the late first and mid-third century. Several sites with Celtiberian inscriptions (such as *Clunia*, *Numantia* and *Segisamo*) have also produced Latin ones, documenting Latinization within a community. At Peñalba de Villastar, Latin graffiti are carved in living rock like their Celtiberian counterparts, yet among them, as if to proclaim the Romanity of its inscriber, is a quotation from Vergil (*Aeneid* 2.268; *HAE* 1550).

Although the earliest inscriptions are in indigenous language and script, it is important to note that they show clear evidence of Roman influence (F. Beltrán Lloris 1999: 137–9). Not only do they first appear after the initial Roman conquest, but they are used for document types of Roman inspiration: coins, hospitality tokens, and tombstones. They also decrease in quantity with increasing distance from the east coast: there are no inscriptions in indigenous language among the Carpetani, other than on the rare coins of *kombouto* (Curchin 2001a), while those among the Vaccaeii are limited to a single site, Paredes de Nava (P). It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the first sign of Romanization in Spain is the appearance of Celtiberian texts (Untermann 1995a: 197). Significantly, the earliest coins with legends in the Roman alphabet appear in the western Meseta, where Celtiberian inscriptions are relatively scarce; obviously the issuers decided to bypass the Iberian alphabet and adopt that of the conqueror.

Toponymy

Because place-names are among the most enduring remnants of indigenous languages, it is instructive to inquire to what extent Celtiberian names are replaced by Latin ones. The presence of Celtic toponyms in Spain was first detected in the early nineteenth century, and since then there have been many attempts to determine the etymology of pre-Roman place-names, as well as to find Celtic or Latin origins for mediaeval ones. These studies have led in some cases to real philological advances, but in others to fantastic etymologies that cast aspersions on the scientific validity of toponymic research. In his catalogue of Celtic names, Holder (1896–1907) listed many toponyms that were not Celtic, while Pokorny (1936, 1938) misguidedly claimed to find ‘Illyrian’ names everywhere. Many of the etymologies

proposed by earlier generations of scholars are no longer tenable. Yet modern researchers may still profit from two precepts established by our forebears: first, 'the simpler the meaning conjectured, the more likely it is to be correct' (Johnston 1934: 21); and second, 'le plus sage est de ne pas hasarder à la légère des étymologies douteuses' (Férotin 1897: 6).

One common category of toponyms is those designating natural features such as mountains and bodies of water. While *Idubeda* (the mountain range separating the Meseta from the Ebro Valley) is an Iberian name, *Chaunus* (a mountain range in Celtiberia, possibly the Serranía de Cuenca) may be cognate with the Celtic personal name *Caunus* (Schulten 1955: 166, 191). Of the mountains *Caius* (modern Moncayo) and *Vadavero* near *Bilbilis*, the former is of uncertain derivation, while the latter contains the non-Indo-European root **vad-* seen also in *Vadinienses*, a people of Cantabria (Martial, 1.49.5–6; Gutiérrez Pérez 1992: 70). The two major rivers of the Meseta have Indo-European names, the sluggish *Tagus* from **(s)tag-* 'trickle', and the *Durius* (Duero) probably from **dheu-* 'flow', though they appear to be pre-Celtic. The *Salo* (Jalón) is also Indo-European and possibly Celtic, to judge from place-names *Salomagus* in Gaul and *Salodurum* in Upper Germany (Schulten 1955: 314). While these mountain and river names represent a variety of indigenous linguistic strains, the important point is that they were never replaced by Latin names.

While we also encounter a considerable degree of conservatism in the names of towns, there are also some with Latin names such as *Valeria* or *Nova Augusta*, reflecting either new foundations or conscious change to a more Romanized toponym. The etymology of the individual town-names has been the subject of detailed studies, which can only be summarized here (Curchin 1997a; cf. García Alonso 2000). Many of these names are clearly Celtic, though there are others that must be considered pre- or para-Celtic. Some Celtic elements, such as **sego-* 'victory' and **-briga* 'hillfort', occur repeatedly, while others are found only once in our region but have parallels in other Celtic lands. Sometimes the entire name occurs in more than one place: thus there is more than one *Segobriga*, *Intercatia* and *Consabura/Cusabura*. Romanized names include not only those that are pure Latin, but the addition of Imperial nomenclature to indigenous toponyms, such as *Segisama Iulia* or *Augustobriga*. The percentage of Romanized town-names (Figure 9.2) is 27 per cent among the Arevaci, 22 per cent among the Carpetani, 17 per cent among the Pelendones, 8 per cent among the Vaccaeï, and 7 per cent among the Celtiberi; the Turmogi have no Latin toponyms at all (Curchin 1997a). The figure for the Carpetani probably reflects its early conquest and its proximity to the highly Romanized province of Baetica. However, it is curious that the Celtiberi, who in most aspects are among the most Romanized chiefdoms of Central Spain, have only two Latin toponyms out of a total of twenty-eight. This may be explained in terms of the strong Celticity of this chiefdom and a consequently high retention of Celtic place-

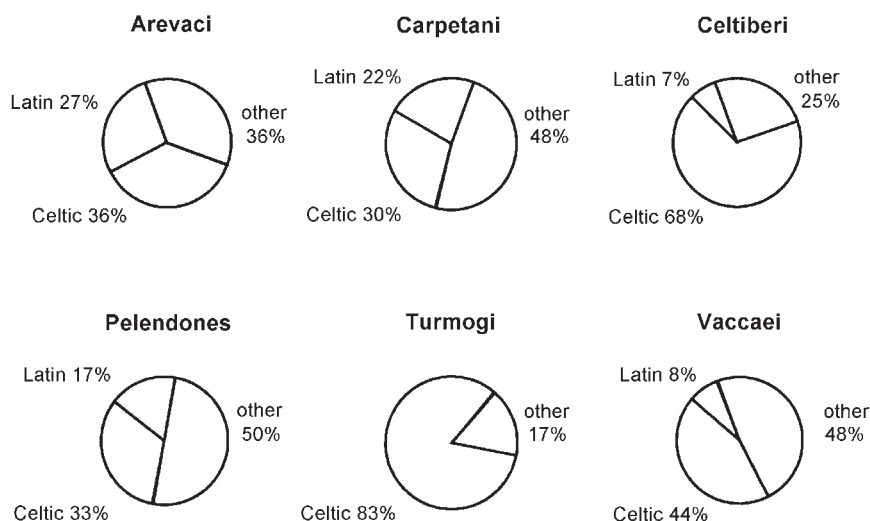


Figure 9.2 Percentages of Celtic, Latin and other toponyms in each chiefdom.

names. The Turmogi likewise have a high proportion (83 per cent) of Celtic toponyms, whereas among the Arevaci, only 36 per cent are Celtic while a further 36 per cent are pre- or para-Celtic. The already multilingual nature of pre-Roman toponyms among the Arevaci may have made them less resistant to new names.

Personal nomenclature

Personal names appear in more than 90 per cent of the epigraphic material, including both Celtiberian and Latin inscriptions. Additional names are found in literary sources and coin legends; these, though limited in number, are extremely important because of their relatively early date. Changes in personal name patterns, from patently pre-Roman nomenclature to fully Latinized *tria nomina*, provide one of our most important and copious indices of Romanization at the individual level. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the surviving onomastic sample represents only a tiny fraction – probably less than 0.1 per cent – of the total population of Central Spain over the four centuries under consideration (mid-first century BC to mid-third century AD). The small size of the sample is not in itself an impediment to statistical analysis, since modern opinion polls often use a sample of one thousand or fewer respondents to predict the behaviour of millions of people; the difficulty lies rather in the representativeness of the sample. Inscriptions cost money, and were therefore likeliest to be commissioned by the more affluent members of society. Also, since most of the

surviving inscriptions are in Latin, a certain degree of Romanization is presumed by the decision to erect a memorial in that language. Because of these factors, the nomenclature in Latin inscriptions undoubtedly shows a higher degree of Romanization than would have existed among the general populace. We do indeed have inscriptions of slaves, freedmen and other working-class individuals, but these constitute a minority of the epigraphy, whereas the lower classes would have comprised the majority of the population. Nonetheless, the surviving onomastic evidence does provide useful material for analysis, since it illustrates both changes in nomenclature over time, and differences from one chiefdom to another.

Pre-Roman nomenclature was not homogeneous, since it included both Celtic and non-Celtic names. For instance, the name *Pentius* or *Pentilius*, which occurs several times among the *Pelendones* and *Celtiberi*, is Indo-European but non-Celtic, because Indo-European 'p' disappears in Celtic. Among the *Carpetani*, we find an abundance of both Celtic and Iberian names, while among the *Vaccae* there are many names that are Indo-European but non-Celtic. Some names are epichoric, occurring chiefly in a particular district or chiefdom (for example, *Coemea*, found around *Lara de los Infantes*). Others are isophones, words in different languages that sound alike. Since several Indo-European languages may use the same name element, it is not always clear whether a given name is Celtic, Greek or Latin (for instance, *Ellicon* might be Greek or Celtic; *Marcos* might be Celtic or Latin; *Carisia* might be Latin or Greek). Most masculine names end in -os or -o, easily assimilable with Latin declensions. Celtiberian feminine names, like Latin ones, usually end in -a; however, whereas Latin stringently avoids -o stems in women's nomenclature, Celtiberian offers such examples as *Magulio*, *Ranto*, *Dercinio*, *Annio*, *Muggio* and *Arganto* (*CIL* II, 2825, 6338ee; *HEp* 2, 151 and 664; *AE* 1987, 642).

Indigenous name patterns are well attested in Celtiberian inscriptions. While it has sometimes been claimed that the Celtiberians had a strict onomastic formula, we in fact find a variety of formulaic patterns. The simplest is the single personal name, such as *kaabaarinos* on a stele from *Clunia*, or the genitive *elatunako* '(property) of *Elatunakos*' on a ceramic vessel from *Numantia*. However, since several people might have the same personal name, it is frequently accompanied by a gentilic designation (ending in -kum) indicating the suprafamilial organization to which the individual belonged: for instance, *bilinos austikum* or the feminine name *elkua raioikum*. The person's identity can be further specified by appending to the gentilic a patronymic (the father's name, in genitive case) such as *mezukenos abokum turo* 'Medhugenos of the *Abokoi*, (son) of *Turos*'. Occasionally these three elements are followed by mention of the individual's home town, either in adjectival form or in the ablative case, when this differs from the location of the inscription (as on the tombstone of a person buried away from home, or a hospitality token given to a friend in another town). In this lengthy

formula, the patronymic may be followed by the abbreviation *ke* (for *kentis* 'son') to avoid confusion: *tirtanos abulokum letontunos ke belikios* 'Tirtanos of the Abulokoi, son of Letondu, of Beligiom'; *lubos alizokum aualo ke kontebiaz belaiskaz* 'Lubos of the Alidhokoi, son of Avalos, from Contrebia Belaisca'.

Some indigenous names occur only on Celtiberian inscriptions, others are found (with slightly Latinized spelling) in both Celtiberian and Latin epigraphy (such as Saikios/Saecius) (Untermann 1997: no. K.23.2; *CIL* VIII, 9390, an emigrant from *Cauca*). The relatively limited number of attestations, rather than the abandonment of certain indigenous names, is probably responsible for those names that occur only once. The Celtic names in Latin inscriptions allow us to see that many of the indigenous gentilic names are formed from masculine personal names. Names ending in -o regularly produce gentilics in -*iquum*: Crastuniquum from Crastuno, Acciquum from Acco, Letondiquum from Letondo. Names ending in -us (Celtiberian -os) somewhat inconsistently form their gentilics in either -*iquum* or -*oquum*: Aeturiquum from Aeturus, Melmanicum from Melmanus, Irrico (**irri-iquum*) from Irrius, Caroquum from Caros, Abiloquum from Abilus, Nemaioquum from Nemaïos, Aplonioquum from Aplonius.

When the Celtiberians came into contact with the Romans, they discovered a naming pattern very different from their own. The standard Roman name consisted of three parts: a *praenomen* or forename, chosen from a limited pool of possible names (such as Marcus, Gaius, Publius, Titus and Lucius) which served primarily to distinguish between siblings; a *nomen gentilicium* or family name, normally ending in -ius, which was hereditary; and a *cognomen* or individual name such as Cicero, of which hundreds of possibilities existed. The use of these three names, the *tria nomina*, was a privilege of Roman citizenship. Variations did exist: women rarely used the *praenomen*; Republican men sometimes had no *cognomen*; and by the late second century AD, the *praenomen* was falling into disuse. There were two other components of formal nomenclature as it often appears on inscriptions. Romans did not usually form patronymics from the *cognomen*, but instead showed parentage from the *praenomen*, such as *Titi filius* 'son of Titus', a formula known as filiation. Also indicated was the voting tribe, such as Galeria or Quirina, in which all male citizens were enrolled. Thus the complete Roman male name formula had five parts, though in written form the *praenomen*, filiation and tribe were reduced to standard abbreviations, as in 'C. Valerius C.f. Gal. Serenus' (an actual name from an inscription at *Clunia*). Women's names included the feminine form of the *nomen* and *cognomen*, with the father's *praenomen* providing filiation, such as 'Lucilia L.f. Vegeta' at *Valeria* (Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 29; *CIL* II, 5890).

The Romanization of personal names was hampered by both indigenous and Roman custom. Not only did the Celtiberians prefer Celtic names and traditional naming formulae, but the Roman *tria nomina* were a privilege of Roman citizens – and few Mesetans received Roman citizenship until well

into the Empire. Peregrines (non-citizens) therefore frequently continue in Latin inscriptions to give their single indigenous name with gentilic, such as 'Bedo Canbaricum' or 'Amparamus Nemaioquum'. Sometimes their father's indigenous name is added as filiation: 'Attia Abboiocum Rectugeni f.', 'Letondo Calnicum Crastunonis f.' (*CIL* II, 3074, 2825; *AE* 1967, 239; *AE* 1987, 623). These are essentially still indigenous names with Latinized case-endings. The next step is the adoption of a partly Roman name. For instance, a father with an indigenous name and gentilic could give his son a Latin *cognomen*; the result might be 'Macer Obisoquum Ambati f.' (Roso de Luna 1904: 127) or 'Paternus Balatuscun Amalmani f.' (*AE* 1987, 616–17). Alternatively, the child could be given a Roman *praenomen* in front of his indigenous name, such as 'C. Baesus Luaabi f.' or 'C. Colinecus Acconis f.' (*CIL* II, 2733; *HEp* 3, 165). Occasionally the *praenomen* itself is the personal name, accompanied by the gentilic: 'M. Crastuniquum', 'P. Abianicum' (Jimeno 1980: no. 68; Knapp 1992: no. 319). Peculiar nomenclature patterns can be found in certain districts. Around Villalazán (ZA), both father and child have indigenous names, but no gentilic, such as 'Arco Betuni f.' and 'Curunda Balaesi f.' (*AE* 1978, 433; *HAE* 932). Residents of Lara de los Infantes (BU) often have a double personal name followed by an indigenous filiation, such as 'Afrunus Matigenus Aleoni f.' and 'Ambata Aionca Lougei f.' (Abásolo 1974: no. 52, 185).

The transition to a fully Romanized name required addition of the *nomen gentilicium*. This normally accompanied the granting of Roman citizenship, for instance to magistrates and their families under the *ius Latii*, but there is ample evidence that non-citizens also began using the *nomen* in order to appear Roman (Curchin 1990: 94). Even when it was acquired legitimately, we do not know the mechanism by which new citizens chose or were assigned a *nomen*. How, for instance, did one become a Julius or Aemilius? It is possible that some Republican governors permitted their provincial clients to adopt their *nomen*, without necessarily giving them citizenship. For instance, the large number of Sempronii at *Segobriga* and *Clunia* might be due to Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, who pacified the Celtiberians, and the many Pompeii at *Toletum* might be descendants of Pompey's *clientela* during the Sertorian war (Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 1989: 201; González-Conde 1987: 65–8, 73–5). Alternatively, the adoption of these illustrious names could have occurred much later, and Alföldy has suggested that senatorial *nomina* may have been chosen by new citizens in towns granted *ius Latii* by Augustus or the Flavians (Alföldy 1999: 474–5). Having not only a Latin name, but an impressive one, contributed to one's prestige. Such explanations are conjectural, and do not account for all senatorial *nomina*. However, one factor in favour of Alföldy's hypothesis is the relatively small number of persons bearing the name Flavius: this suggests that individuals receiving citizenship under the Flavians preferred to choose a *nomen* other than the emperor's (Gallego Franco 2001). One reason might be that the imperial

nomen was borne by freedmen of the emperor's household and thus suggested servile origin.

Another problem is individuals who have *tria nomina* but no indication of voting tribe. Was the tribe omitted for the sake of brevity, or are these persons not genuine citizens? Legitimately or otherwise, many Mesetans named on inscriptions sport the *tria nomina* or *duo nomina* (*nomen* and *cognomen* only). *Duo nomina* became fashionable for male Roman citizens in the second century AD, replacing the *tria nomina*. By this period, so few *praenomina* were in common use that they were of little value in distinguishing one name from another (Salway 1994: 130–1). However, not all the names are fully Romanized. In some cases the *cognomen* remains non-Latin, such as 'Q. Valerius Argaelus' (Almagro Basch 1984: no. 33) or 'Calpurnia Ambata Lougei f.' (AE 1980, 587). In others, a Latin *nomen* and *cognomen* are accompanied by an indigenous gentile, such as 'Valeria Venniquum Successa' (CIL II, 5789). The relatively high proportion of indigenous names shows that Central Spain was much less Romanized than the Mediterranean coastal region: at Tarraco, for instance, only 2 per cent of the names are indigenous (Alföldy 1977).

Romanization, or lack of it, can often be traced between generations. Some names show that the child is more Romanized than its father, such as 'C. Calvisius Aionis f. Sabinus' (CIL II, 2782) or 'Sempronia Attasis f.' (Gómez-Pantoja and Alfaro Peña 2001: 178). On the other hand, there are examples where a father with Latin *praenomen* has a child with indigenous nomenclature, such as 'Evasco T.f. Barrusqum' (CIL II, 2838) or 'Ambata Caelica C.f.' (Abásolo 1974: no. 24). Women in particular are likely to bear a less Romanized name than their father: for example, 'Docina Rufi f.' (AE 1992, 1010) and 'Amma Festi f.' (CIL II, 880, native of Albocela). Sometimes the child's *cognomen* is derived from the father's *nomen* (Terentia M.f. Terentiana; Fabia L.f. Fabulla) or *cognomen* (Terentius Rufinus Rufi f.; Valeria Crescentina, daughter of C. Valerius Crescens) (CIL II, 3645, 3652, 2843; Abásolo 1974: no. 23). Less often, the child's *cognomen* is formed from the mother's *nomen*; for instance, the son of C. Sempronius Sempronianus and Valeria Paterna is C. Sempronius Valerianus (Knapp 1992: 393–4). Greek names are regularly used to designate slaves and freedmen, whatever their racial origin. A few slaves, however, bear Latin names such as Felix or Festus (Curchin 1987b: 86).

Romanization of nomenclature can be measured through quantitative analysis of personal names in Meseta inscriptions, taking into account male versus female nomenclature, and urban versus rural naming patterns. One index of Romanization is the adoption of *tria* or *duo nomina* by those who were Roman citizens or who wanted to appear so. As can be seen from the graph (Figure 9.3), males with *tria* or *duo nomina* outnumber those bearing only a single name. However, if we count *tria* and *duo nomina* as separate categories, then the single name is the commonest type of personal

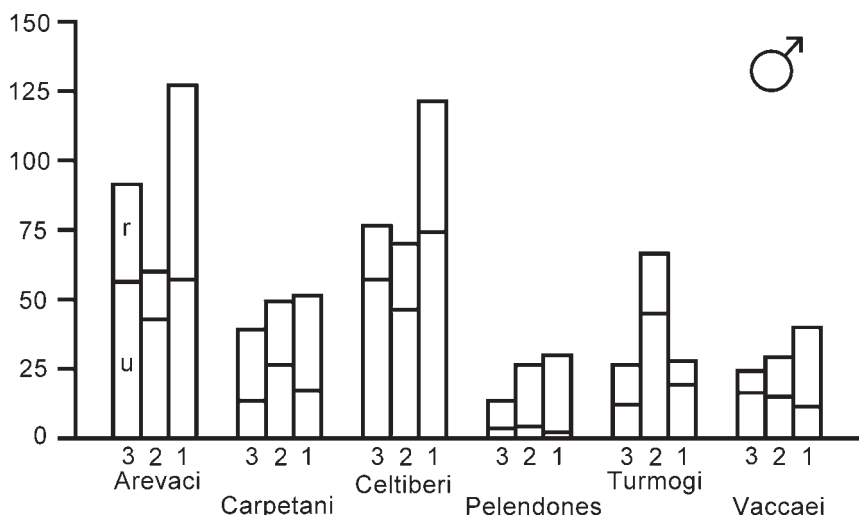


Figure 9.3 Number of epigraphic examples of males with *tria nomina* (3), *duo nomina* (2) or single names (1) in each chiefdom (u=urban, r=rural).

nomenclature in most chiefdoms. With these data we may contrast the naming patterns at the provincial capital, *Tarraco*, where *tria nomina* outnumber single names by an overwhelming margin (Curchin 1987a: 164). *Duo nomina* were also the normal pattern for female Roman citizens throughout the Early Empire, since feminine *praenomina* such as Gaia were rarely used. In Central Spain, more women use *duo nomina* than single name (Figure 9.4). Not included in these graphs is a peculiar naming pattern found in the district of Lara de los Infantes (BU). This involves the use of two names, neither of which is a Latin *nomen*, such as Madigenus Calaetus or Ambata Aionca. There are seventeen instances of this type of double *cognomen* among males, and thirty-eight among females.

Epigraphy provides several other indicators of the extent to which names were Romanized. The transition from Celtic to Latin nomenclature is most clearly visible in the choice of *cognomen* (which may be part of *tria nomina*, or a single name used by itself, such as Festus or Materna). Whether a particular *cognomen* is Latin can easily be determined by consulting the standard handbooks (Kajanto 1965; Solin and Salomies 1994). There is a high percentage of Latin *cognomina* among the Arevaci, Celtiberi and Carpetani, but a preponderance of indigenous names among the Turmogi, Pelendones and Vaccae (Curchin 1986a). Female names show a somewhat greater adherence to the non-Latin tradition. For instance, in Palencia province 59 per cent of epigraphically attested women have a wholly or partly indigenous name, and only 41 per cent have a wholly Latin name

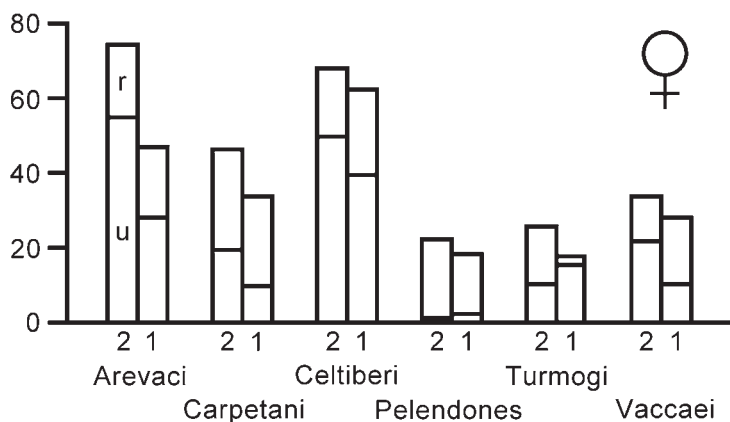


Figure 9.4 Number of epigraphic examples of females with *duo nomina* (2) or single names (1) in each chiefdom (u=urban, r=rural).

(Gallego Franco 1993) There is also a substantial number of Greek *cognomina*, which normally designate persons of servile origin. These occur mostly in the cities. Another useful index is the type of filiation, for this discloses the Romanization of the father's name as well as the child's. Of 319 names that provide filiation, 88 (28 per cent) follow the Roman system of using the father's *praenomen*, such as 'Q(uiti) f(ilius)', whereas 231 (72 per cent) use the indigenous method of filiation by the father's *cognomen*, whether Latin or not, such as 'Rufini f.' or 'Aionis f.'. Fathers' names are frequently mentioned, both in the form of filiation – which often, however, provides only part of the name – and as the recipients of epitaphs from (or less often, dedicants of epitaphs to) their children. In Latin epigraphy we can find many children whose names are conspicuously more Romanized than their fathers'; for instance, 'M. Aemilius Murrianus Carbili f.', where Murrianus is a Latin *cognomen* and Carbilus is Celtic (CIL II, 2787). As indigenes acquire or affect Latin citizenship, the indigenous gentilic name ending in *-qum* or *-con* is replaced by the Roman *nomen gentilicium* (chapter 6).

Literacy

Despite the insistence of Cicero, Quintilian and other Roman writers on the value (primarily for the upper class) of a good education, the level of literacy in the Roman world, and particularly in a provincial hinterland such as Central Spain, will not have approached modern standards. On the other hand, as I have indicated elsewhere, the large number of lower-class inscriptions in the epigraphic profile of our region disproves the notion that literacy was confined to a small group of less than 5–10 per cent of the

population, as predicted by W.V. Harris (Curchin 1995b, contra Harris 1989: 272). Some of the dedicants of these inscriptions are explicitly slaves or freedmen; others bear a single name or an indigenous name, indicative of peregrine (non-citizen) status. Since Roman citizenship was given to local magistrates and their families by Vespasian, and most inscriptions are later than this, the majority of these non-citizens will not be members of the elite. The wide diffusion of literacy is, of course, an important index of Romanization. However, we must also consider when, why and how literacy spread. It is probably safe to say that society was non-literate in the pre-Roman Meseta, though it must be acknowledged that writing on perishable materials preceded the first surviving documents, the coin series with legends in Iberian script that begins around the mid-second century BC. Prior to that time, people may have used clay balls (*bolitas*), frequently found on Meseta sites, as a recording system. Some of these balls have incised dots on the exterior which may represent numbers of sheep or other commodities, and some make a rattling sound, suggesting the presence of *calculi* inside, as a guarantee (in contracts, for instance) of the number of symbols on the outside. These *bolitas* are found chiefly among the Vaccaeii, who lacked a writing system; however, we as yet lack proof that they are recording devices rather than merely decorative items or toys. It has also been pointed out that the pre-Roman loom-weights of *Numantia* use arbitrary symbols rather than Iberian characters to identify their makers; that the symbols do indicate the makers rather than the weights is clear from the presence of the same sign on examples of different weight (Comisión Ejecutiva 1912: 39).

Relations with the Romans necessitated the use of Latin from a relatively early date. Examples of lost written documents include the treaties (*synthêkai*) which the Celtiberians made with Sempronius Gracchus in 178, and which the Numantines made with Pompeius and Mancinus in 139 and 137 BC (Appian, *Iberica* 43, 79–80, 83). These treaties were presumably in Latin, since it is unlikely that the Celtiberians had devised the formal legal terminology required in such a document; interpreters may have been needed to explain the terms to the indigenous signatories. Inscriptions (other than coin legends) in the Celtiberian language, using either the Iberian or Roman writing system, belong to a brief chronological period – roughly coterminous with the Late Republic – when Romanization is already well underway. Significantly, they were used not only for public purposes but also for private ones, including tombstones and numerous graffiti (including some at the notoriously anti-Roman town of *Numantia*) indicating the ownership of ceramic vessels. This evidence, contradicting Harris' claim that mass illiteracy in the provinces is shown by 'the dearth of vernacular *instrumentum domesticum*' (Harris 1995: 20), suggests that literacy was not confined to official scribes, but that ordinary individuals were at least capable of labelling their possessions. We have no commercial records in the Celtiberian language, but this is not surprising since these would have been written on

perishable materials; as already observed, the Celtiberians probably learned the Iberian script through mercantile contacts. The usefulness of literacy, whether for business or personal purposes, goes far to explain its apparently rapid and broad diffusion. There were obvious advantages in being able to record commercial transactions, to write letters to friends, to make a will (as shown by frequent epigraphic mentions of heirs and testaments), to read roadside signs and legal documents, or to compose an epitaph for a loved one. While many of these functions could be performed in either Celtiberian or Latin, the latter soon predominated in writing and eventually in speech. While the spread of writing may not be evidence for the diffusion of classical culture (Woolf 1994: 98), the importance of literacy in the creation of a more complex society should not be underestimated: 'As these villagers become literate, they are transformed. Their self-esteem rises dramatically, they become actively involved in their communities and they begin to handle their family finances with confidence'. (Cardey 2002).

The spread of literacy required some form of education. We do not know for certain whether any Mesetans attended the school of Greek and Latin learning which Sertorius established for the sons of the elite at *Oscā* in the Ebro valley (Plutarch, *Sertorius* 14). It seems likely enough that some local chiefs, in times of peace, sent their sons to be educated in the more Romanized areas of Spain, to be better prepared to govern their communities within the framework of Roman rule. But even members of the lower class (such as shopkeepers, accountants, or the slave foremen who managed rural villas) required a basic knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic for business transactions. There must therefore have been teachers within the community who could instruct people in these skills. Unfortunately, our only explicit evidence for teachers is an inscription of the second century AD, mentioning a *grammaticus Latinus* from *Clunia* (AE 1987, 617). However, some degree of education in Latin poetry is shown by inscriptions containing quotations from Lucretius and Vergil, and by epitaphs written in original verse (Curchin 1995b). Familiarity with such works of literature suggests the existence of bookshops, and possibly public libraries, in the larger cities. In the first century AD, *Bilbilis* produced the poet Martial, who became a notable literary figure at Rome itself.

The spread of literacy is also evidenced by some of the writing materials used. Writing demanded new technologies: ink pens on imported papyrus, styluses on waxed wooden tablets, and masons' chisels on marble. Papyri and wooden tablets do not survive in our region, but *capsae* (cylindrical cases for papyrus rolls) are depicted on statues of togate figures, perhaps local magistrates, at *Segobriga* (Almagro Basch 1983). Possible *capsae* made of clay have been reported at *Palantia* (Navarro García 1930–46, vol. 4:120), though one would expect leather to be the usual material. From *Segobriga* also come *terra sigillata* ink-pots still stained with ink, while styluses of bone, bronze or iron have been found on numerous urban and rural sites

(Curchin 1995b: 465). The commonest writing material to survive is, of course, stone. Marble was ideal but expensive; common limestone provided a more affordable yet durable alternative. Sandstone could also be used, but was more vulnerable to erosion. Sandstone inscriptions are notoriously difficult to read, though they probably have a higher survival rate than limestone ones, many of which found their way into mediaeval and early modern lime kilns. In districts that lacked suitable stone, it was necessary to import it from elsewhere, but this added to the expense of erecting a memorial, restricting the practice to those who could afford it. Thus, for instance, there are few inscriptions in Valladolid province, an alluvial plain which is deficient in stone. Inscriptions (usually of a legal nature) could also be engraved on bronze tablets, or individual bronze letters could form an inscription on a public monument. Holes on the face of the monumental arch at Medinaceli (SO) and the aqueduct of *Segovia* show where these letters (long since removed) were attached (Figure 9.5).

Some idea of the extent of literacy by the time of the Early Empire can be gained by examining the distribution of epigraphic monuments. Over 1700 Latin inscriptions of this period are known in our region, though some are fragmentary and others, recorded in previous centuries, can no longer be found. This epigraphic corpus is not a truly representational sample, since the more thoroughly excavated sites naturally offer a larger selection of



Figure 9.5 Monumental arch at Medinaceli (SO). The architrave bore an inscription in bronze letters, possibly in honour of the emperor.

inscriptions than those explored only casually. Nonetheless, the cumulative evidence from each chiefdom tends to compensate for the accidental nature of the discoveries. For instance, while very few Latin inscriptions have been found at *Segontia* or *Septimanca*, we have plenty of texts from neighbouring towns to indicate the character of urban epigraphy in their respective chiefdoms. Quantitative analysis of surviving inscriptions thus gives us at least an approximate profile of each chiefdom's epigraphic habits. A graph showing the distribution of urban and rural inscriptions (Figure 9.6) reveals that the Arevaci and Celtiberi have the most inscriptions, while the Pelendones have the fewest. This in part reflects the relative size of these chiefdoms, but size is not the only criterion for the distribution, because the Arevaci have more inscriptions than the geographically similar Carpetani, and there are also more among the small chiefdom of the Turmogi than in the extensive territory of the Vaccaei. The predominance of the Celtiberi and Arevaci in this distribution seems to reflect a greater Romanization in these eastern chiefdoms, which were subjected to intense military activity in the Republican period and were also in close contact with the Ebro valley, than among the more northern and westerly peoples. *Segobriga* and *Clunia*, the principal cities of these two chiefdoms, have more than two hundred inscriptions each. Other cities, such as *Palantia*, *Segovia*, *Complutum* and *Valeria*, can each claim several dozen inscriptions. The district of Lara de los Infantes (BU), provisionally assigned to the Turmogi (Solana Sáinz 1976: 75), is also rich in epigraphy, having more inscriptions than either the Carpetani or Vaccaei. While a circumstantial argument has been made for identifying Lara with *Nova Augusta* of the Arevaci, based on the presumed relationship of the *equites* C. Antonius Aquilus Novaugustanus (attested in Galicia) and L. Antonius Aquilus (attested nineteen kilometres east of Lara)

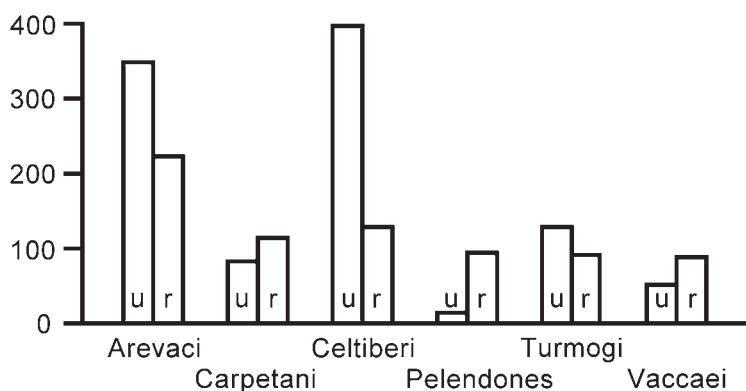


Figure 9.6 Distribution of urban (u) and rural (r) inscriptions, by chiefdom.

(Gimeno Pascual and Mayer 1993), this is not compelling: the two men may be related, but this does not prove that Lara is *Nova Augusta*. Pliny, who counts the Arevaci as Celtiberian, calls *Clunia* 'the end of Celtiberia' (*Nat. Hist.* 3.19, 3.27), which is true only if *Clunia* is approached from the south and if Lara, which lies north of *Clunia*, is not Arevacan. Moreover, the personal nomenclature of Lara and nearby *Segisamo* (which definitely belongs to the Turmogi) is more similar to that of Cantabria than to that of the Arevaci (Albertos 1979: 133).

In all, about 60 per cent of inscriptions come from major towns, and the rest from their territories. The numerical predominance of urban over rural epigraphy emphasizes the crucial role of urbanism in Romanization. The cities housed not only the Romanized local elite, but the schools where literacy was fostered and the masons' workshops where the inscriptions were carved. Even in the countryside, inscriptions tend to be found along major Roman highways, illustrating the correlation of communications, settlement patterns and literacy.

Interesting differences between chiefdoms are also apparent in the types of epigraphic monuments erected. Most, of course, are funerary or votive (dedicatory), with honorific and other categories providing only 'background noise', but the relationship between the two major types is not always consistent. Among the Pelendones, the ratio of votive to funerary inscriptions is greater than 1:2, with votives comprising more than one-third of the total number of inscriptions. With these figures may be contrasted votive-to-funerary ratios of only 1:11 among the Vaccae and 1:12 among the Turmogi, the chiefdoms furthest from the Mediterranean, perhaps reflecting a reluctance to use Latin epigraphy for dedications to deities which were still largely indigenous (Curchin 1986a: 694). Between these extremes are the Carpetani, Celtiberi and Arevaci, with ratios of 1:3.5, 1:4 and 1:4.5 respectively. Mócsy's dictum, that 'the greater the inscriptional material of a place, the greater must be the percentage of funerary inscriptions' (Mócsy 1970: 210), is only partly vindicated by these results. While the strong showing of votives among the Pelendones may indeed be due to the relatively small number of inscriptions from their territory, it is unclear why the Celtiberi, with the largest epigraphic sample, have proportionally fewer funerary inscriptions than the Turmogi and Vaccae. Since Mócsy was referring to cities rather than entire chiefdoms, it is instructive to look also at the epigraphy of individual centres and see whether, as he predicted, those with fewer inscriptions have a higher percentage of votive inscriptions. While epigraphically prolific *Clunia* and *Segobriga* have votive-to-funerary ratios of 1:3, the towns with fewer (but at least twenty) inscriptions have either the same or higher proportion of funerary texts: *Complutum* and *Uxama* 1:3, *Palantia* 1:9, Lara de los Infantes 1:18, *Valeria* 1:48, *Segovia* 1:57. These figures effectively refute Mócsy.

A further method of quantifying literacy is to calculate epigraphic density, the number of inscriptions in a given area. Duncan-Jones (1982: 338–9)

found tremendous variation in Italian epigraphic density, ranging from two inscriptions per 100 square kilometres in Lucania and Bruttium, to fifty-five in Latium and Campania. Since the area of Central Spain is about 100,000 square kilometres, and there are approximately 1750 inscriptions, the epigraphic density is very low by comparison with Italy, at less than two inscriptions per 100 square kilometres.

As already indicated, many of the dedicants of inscriptions were not members of the provincial upper class. This implies that large numbers of lower-class persons were literate, semi-literate, or at least had acquired the 'epigraphic habit', the desire to erect a Latin memorial. The degree of their literacy is difficult to assess, since individuals rarely carved their own monuments. Stonecutters, such as the *lapidarius* named on an inscription from *Clunia* (CIL II, 2772), transferred the customer's request onto stone. Theoretically this required three employees – a *scriptor* to draft the epigraph, an *ordinator* to sketch the letters on the stone, and a *sculptor* to carve them – though these functions may have been combined in the smaller workshops (Susini 1973: 50). Presumably the *scriptor* would have helped customers with the wording of the inscription, particularly those whose Latin was limited, and would have suggested appropriate, standard formulas, which regularly occur in abbreviated form on inscriptions. There are enough errors on the inscriptions to show that some of the stonecutters had an imperfect grasp of Latin. However, there is sufficient variety in the choice and arrangement of the formulas to indicate that the customer, who was probably paying by the word, made the final decision and must therefore have understood what he was buying. Of course, there were probably some customers who understood Latin only orally, and had to have the wording read aloud to them by the *scriptor*; and perhaps others to whom he had to explain it in Celtic. None the less, there must also have been large numbers of people who were literate enough to read Latin inscriptions on their own; there would be little point in erecting a written memorial that no one could read. This is particularly significant in the case of rural inscriptions, since it shows that people in the countryside could read Latin. The requirement in the Flavian Municipal Law for names of electoral candidates to be posted where they could be read from ground level (AE 1986, 333, chapter 51) presumes that urban voters were able to read, though it was possible for a few literate people to read to the masses: 'The imperial government did not expect that its subjects . . . would be literate; rather, it demanded that they have access to a literate person' (Ando 2000: 101). Yet it is clear that Mesetans adopted not only epigraphy (the custom of writing on stone) but the entire Roman 'epigraphic culture', including the formulas, conventions and subject matter found on inscriptions throughout the Empire (Woolf 1996: 34). That writing became an everyday occurrence, at least in the cities, is suggested by the large number of graffiti incised by idlers on the stone columns of the basilica at *Segobriga* in the third century AD, including personal names and attempts at calligraphy

(Abascal and Cebrián, forthcoming). The large number of graffiti on plates and cups shows that many people were able to write in Latin script, if only to record their name on possessions.

One criterion for literacy is the ability to spell correctly. Accuracy in this matter was harder to achieve in ancient times than today, since as far as we know there were no Latin dictionaries. However, it is likely that teachers trained their pupils in a standard orthography, which was not always remembered in later life. Stonecutters were technicians, not grammarians, and their spelling was often deficient. Sometimes the same word is spelled differently twice in the same inscription, or the feminine dative case-ending will appear as *-ae* in one line, and *-e* in another. Such variant spellings as *Calaetos*, *Calaetus* and *Calaedus* suggest that there was no standard orthography for indigenous names. Some spelling peculiarities are not so much errors as reflections of popular pronunciation, such as *Septumia* for *Septimia*, *nati* for *gnati*, or (an extreme example) *Masmi* for *Maximi* (Navarro Caballero 1994: no. 27A). However, most of the spelling irregularities in our region cannot claim this excuse. In a separate study, I have quantified the error rate in the inscriptions of each chiefdom, and also compared urban with rural spelling errors. The results of this exercise were twofold. First, as predicted by Mócsy, the chiefdoms with the largest number of inscriptions tended to have the lowest percentage of errors: thus the Celtiberi, with the largest epigraphic base, had an error rate of only 22.8 per cent, while the Pelendones, with the fewest inscriptions, had 34 per cent; the other chiefdoms fell between these two extremes. Second, a comparison of errors in urban and rural inscriptions revealed no great discrepancy. Not only was the rural rate not significantly higher than the urban – in no chiefdom did the difference exceed 4.5 per cent – but among the Carpetani and Turmogi it was marginally lower. In some cases, inscriptions erected in the countryside may have been manufactured by urban workshops; however, this does not provide a completely satisfactory answer, since rural workshops are also known. The literacy of the stonecutters thus seems to depend, not on whether they worked in town or in country, but on which part of the Meseta they inhabited (Curchin 1995b: 468–70).

A further index of literacy is the practice of age-rounding. Ignorance of a person's true age, which must therefore be estimated by rounding it off to the nearest five or ten years, is a phenomenon which often accompanies illiteracy; it is especially common among the lower class and among women. The incidence of age-rounding can be computed by a standard formula which shows to what degree the percentage of ages divisible by five differs from a random distribution; this is expressed as a numerical index, which in the case of the Roman provinces varies from about twenty to ninety. The higher the index, the higher the incidence of age-rounding and thus of illiteracy. Some years ago, Duncan-Jones (1977) calculated the age-rounding index for Spain generally as 56.6 for men and 58.4 for women, but he did

not take regional differences into account. In a previous study, I indicated that the male age-rounding index at *Tarraco*, the provincial capital of Hispania Citerior, was only 32.3, suggesting a level of literacy well in excess of the Spanish average. In Central Spain, the male index ranges from 66.0 among the Carpetani to 89.6 among the Pelendones, and the female index from 75.5 among the Arevaci to 88.7 among the Vaccaeii. The averages for all chiefdoms were 73.5 for males, and 74.6 for females, well above the average Spanish age-rounding index. Thus age-rounding, and hence illiteracy, was higher in the Meseta than in Spain as a whole. Ironically, while the male age-rounding index for our region was much higher in the countryside than in the cities (82.1 versus 64.9), the female index – admittedly based on a smaller sample – showed the opposite trend (73.4 rural against 75.8 urban) (Curchin 1995b: 471–2 and table 2).

Conclusions

In considering linguistic change, it is important to note that Latin was not imposed by Roman policy, but was adopted voluntarily for reasons of convenience. Although Latin began to be spoken from an early date, and eventually became dominant, we still find indigenous personal and gentilic names in Latin inscriptions, showing that the social organization did not always keep pace with the change in language. On the other hand, we find many individuals whose names were fully Latinized and who obviously wanted to appear Roman. Names of the elite are nearly all Latinized by the Imperial period; indigenous nomenclature is retained mostly by those who had no access to Roman citizenship. Toponyms likewise show a variety of Latin and indigenous formations.

Prior to the Roman conquest, Central Spain was a pre-literate Celtic society. Literacy began with the use of the Iberian alphabet on coins and inscriptions, already during the period of Roman control. Celtiberian graffiti on portable objects suggest that some ordinary indigenes could read and write by the first century BC. Though there are hardly any examples of written Latin before the first century AD, some of the Celtiberian inscriptions betray Latin influence. Under the Early Empire, Latin inscriptions on stone enjoy a boom, though their density is only equivalent to the lowest level encountered in Italy. Moreover, frequent finds of writing materials suggest the widespread use of wooden tablets and papyrus rolls. That Central Spain was less Latinized than the Mediterranean coast, but more Latinized than some areas further north or west, is consistent with what one would expect both from its geographical position and the date of its conquest.

Latinization had important consequences for social organization. First, writing allowed for greater social and legal complexity in everyday life. Second, Romanization of nomenclature involved not only the adoption of Latin names, but the abandonment of the old, and increasingly irrelevant,

gentilic system. However, the spread of Latin was not uniform. The uneven distribution of Latin inscriptions reveals discrepancies in Romanization from one chiefdom to the next, and between town and country. This evidence suggests that there were internal linguistic frontiers (cf. Whittaker 1994: 129), with some towns or districts being more Romanized than others. There are also significant differences between chiefdoms in the level of literacy, as revealed by spelling and age-rounding, with women and rural districts predictably faring poorly.

LIFE AND DEATH

The Romanization of behaviour

It is through the processes of daily life that identities are formed.

(Petts 1998: 79)

Indeed, now that the world is unified by the grandeur of the Roman empire, who would doubt that life has been made better through commerce and the sharing of blessed peace?

(Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 14.1.2)

If material prosperity is the criterion for improvement in the quality of life, the inhabitants of the Roman empire certainly had their lives enhanced. Increased affluence of the average provincial resident is evident from the large number of artifacts found in Roman-period houses, compared with the meagre domestic assemblages on Iron Age sites (Hopkins 1996: 20). To the inhabitants of a hill town in the vast Castilian plain, the city of Rome must have seemed remote, yet Rome had an inescapable impact on their daily life. They lived under Roman law, conducted at least some of their business in Latin, and used products made in, or influenced by, Rome. Their death rituals and funerary symbols were influenced by Roman ideas. Even their daily routine was affected, as they made time for a visit to the barber, the forum or the baths. The artifacts they handled at work or at home provide an important clue to changes in behavioural patterns and improvements in the standard of living, for artifact change denotes social change (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 31; Allison 1999a: 7). Unfortunately, social historians tend to privilege people—people over people—artifact interactions (Schiffer 1999: 13); thus, studies of Romanization often ignore the ‘pots and pans’, the structures of daily life. Yet it was precisely in such mundane materials and practices that Roman culture most often affected the ordinary person. Therefore, items such as fibulas, razors or millstones should not be summarily dismissed as ‘small finds’ or ‘realia’: rather, they should be viewed as significant behavioural artifacts in a context of dress, shaving or food preparation.

Indeed, changes to the structures and instruments of daily life among the common people are a more accurate gauge of Romanization than public monuments or the adoption of Roman trappings by a small elite. Moreover, Romanization had a striking impact on the mental outlook of the inhabitants, changing their perceptions and ideas as they became integrated into the Roman mindset. But why did Mesetans choose to adopt Roman lifestyles and artifacts? How did their ideas of life and death change over time?

Cultivating a Roman image

The adoption of Roman dress and hairstyles was an important step in constructing a Roman persona. Although clothing has several functional purposes (warmth, decoration, modesty), it also acts as a symbolic code communicating identity and status (Davis 1992: 191). Clothing symbols tend to have shared meanings which are widely recognized: in particular, they show the affiliation of individuals to social groups (Kaiser 1985: 15, 302). Clothes thus aid in self-presentation by revealing the social status of the wearer: male or female, rich or poor, citizen or slave. Soldiers, for instance, had their own distinctive uniform and insignia. The 'uniform' of the Roman citizen was the toga for men, the stola for women, though these were worn chiefly on ceremonial occasions. The wearing of the complexly draped toga 'epitomized the civilized person' (Kaiser 1985: 29). The toga gave a visual cue: it proclaimed, 'I am Roman, I am special'. It thus had a high recognition value, though we do not know how Mesetans initially discovered what the toga symbolized. The public wearing of the toga by local officials made festivals and other ceremonial occasions more meaningful for the crowd. Of course, many Mesetans were not Roman citizens and therefore ineligible to wear the toga, but even after Roman citizenship was extended to all free inhabitants of the empire in AD 212 it is doubtful how many men adopted the toga. Everyday wear for citizens and non-citizens alike was the tunic, though the shape, decoration and quality of tunics could express distinctions of gender (women preferring long sleeves and low hems), age (the *toga praetexta* worn by boys) and wealth. Introduction of this garment probably began with the local elite, since changes in clothing styles tend to trickle down from the top of the social scale (Davis 1992: 110). Men tended to adopt Roman dress more quickly than women, who retained traditional garb longer (Wells 1999: 123–4). While women might wear bright colours, the male dress code was more restricted, with white the colour of choice.

If Roman clothing was so symbolic, can we assume that it was embraced by all provincials? Strabo (3.2.15) is often quoted as asserting that the Celtiberians have become *togatoī* 'dressed in the toga'; but this word is a modern emendation, not preserved in the manuscript tradition. I would argue that while some Mesetans adopted togas, stolas or tunics, others staunchly

retained their native dress. New modes of dress must undergo cultural authentication. Collective behaviour is an important factor in this process, impelling people to adopt new clothing to express a shared social identity (Kaiser 1985: 277). If this collective impulse is lacking, the clothing will be unsuccessful. Lack of collective interest in Roman dress can be explained in two ways. First, not everyone may have wanted to join the quest for Roman status and to emulate the appearance of the conqueror. Second, many people may have preferred their familiar, traditional dress. Scholars have sometimes been misled by the prejudice that anything Roman was desirable and anything indigenous was inferior. Thus Le Roux (1995: 9) claims that wearing the toga established 'une frontière . . . entre la civilisation et la barbarie'. Such Romanocentric statements unfairly degrade the indigenous culture. The fact that indigenous dress was different from Roman did not make it barbaric, especially in local eyes. Nor should the strength of tradition be downplayed, since culture is transmitted from one generation to the next. We shall begin by defining pre-Roman forms of dress, and then assess the extent of evidence for its Romanization.

The poet Lucilius (11.438–9) describes the Celtiberians at the time of the Numantine war as dressed in *bracae* (breeches), *saga* (cloaks) and *torques* (torcs). The famous warrior vase from *Numantia* (Figure 10.1a) shows two warriors in knee-length breeches and low boots, presumably of leather. The man on the left appears to be wearing a short, sleeveless tunic, secured at the waist by a wide belt. The other seems to be wrapped in a hooded cloak, which covers his shoulders and arms. In non-martial scenes (Figure 10.1b, c) men are shown in one-piece tunics, sometimes decorated in horizontal bands, that extend from the neck to the calf. Female costume is best illustrated on a Numantine terracotta (Figure 10.1d) in which we see an ankle-length robe with hemmed neck, a headscarf fringed at the back, and a sort of apron held in place by a belt or sash. The apron has rows of pointed decorations. Both pointed and linear decorations could have been achieved by stitching tiny bronze or glass beads to the garment; groups of such beads have been found in a Celtiberian grave at Almaluez (SO) (Barril Vicente 1997). The woollen *sagum*, a necessity in the Meseta winter, is the Celtiberian equivalent of the Gallic *sagus* and the cloak worn by the heroes of Irish legend. It may also have been worn by the Romans in cold weather, since Lucullus demanded 10,000 of them from *Intercatia* as his army was preparing to move into winter quarters (Appian, *Iberica* 54). Belts do not survive, but many belt buckles have appeared in Celtiberian tombs, forming a complex typology (Lorrio 1997: 214–23; Argente Oliver *et al.* 2000: 101). There may also have been subtle differences in dress and ornament between one chiefdom and another, though we lack sufficient evidence to define them; in other cultures there are often stylistic differences in the dress of neighbouring tribal groups (Hodder 1982: 18).

Tracing the Romanization of clothing is no easy task, since tunics, which were the everyday dress of both sexes in the Roman world, differed little

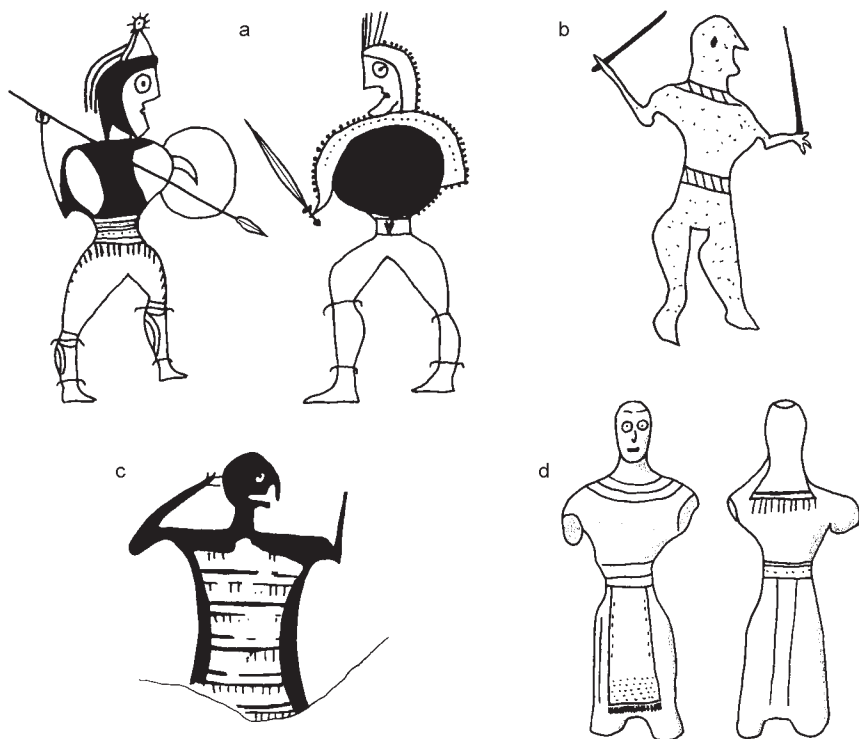


Figure 10.1 Indigenous costume: a-b vase paintings from *Numantia* (after Paris 1914–19); c vase painting from *Izana* (SO) (after Taracena 1927); d terracotta from *Numantia* (after Wattenberg 1963),

from their Celtiberian predecessors. Thus feminine figures on the stelae of *Lara de los Infantes* (BU) wear ankle-length tunics which could belong to either culture, though their head coverings extend below the back of the neck, in the pre-Roman fashion. Their footwear consists of high-heeled shoes, contrary to Roman custom. As studies in other provinces have shown, indigenous women's dress tends to be Romanized more slowly than men's (MacMullen 1984: 172–3 and n. 30). For male Roman citizens, the distinctive dress was the toga, though few men wore it regularly outside of Rome. Martial (12.18) claims that there are no togas at *Bilbilis*, and that if he requests one, he is given a rug from a broken chair; but this is surely comic exaggeration. Togas sometimes appear on statues and tombstone reliefs of local dignitaries, though this is no guarantee that they were worn in real life. As for footwear, a thick-soled sandal is represented in terracotta at *Numantia*, and esparto sandals were found in a cellar in that city (Schulten 1914: 189; 1931: 246). However, one suspects that leather boots were worn during

winter. A guild of shoemakers is attested at *Uxama*, and a lone cobbler at *Segisamo* (CIL II, 2818, 5812).

Cloaks and other garments could be secured with the aid of a fibula (brooch). This device, usually made of bronze or iron (rarely gold or silver), was the ancient version of the safety pin and is frequently found on Meseta sites. Several common types are known, though many variants exist (Argente Oliver 1994; González Zamora 1999; Mariné Isidro 2001). Perhaps the most successful pre-Roman type, in use from the sixth to first centuries BC, was the annular fibula, in which the blunt end of the pin was wound about the frame to form a wire spring. Another common mechanism was the hinge spring, found in the so-called La Tène types of the fourth to first centuries BC, as well as in Roman models. Fibulas in the shape of animals were also popular, including horses, bulls, boars, birds and snakes. A particularly interesting type is the horse with rider, which has been seen as symbolizing the rise of an equestrian aristocracy in the pre-Roman Meseta (Almagro-Gorbea and Torres Ortiz 1999). New fibula types were introduced in the Roman period (Mariné Isidro 2001). The omega brooch (Figure 10.2e), named for its resemblance to the Greek letter, is the most widely distributed of the Roman fibulas, as well as the longest lived, spanning the period from about 100 BC to AD 450. Somewhat less frequent is the arc brooch, or Aucissa type, in use from about 50 BC to AD 100 (Schulten 1929: plate 31;

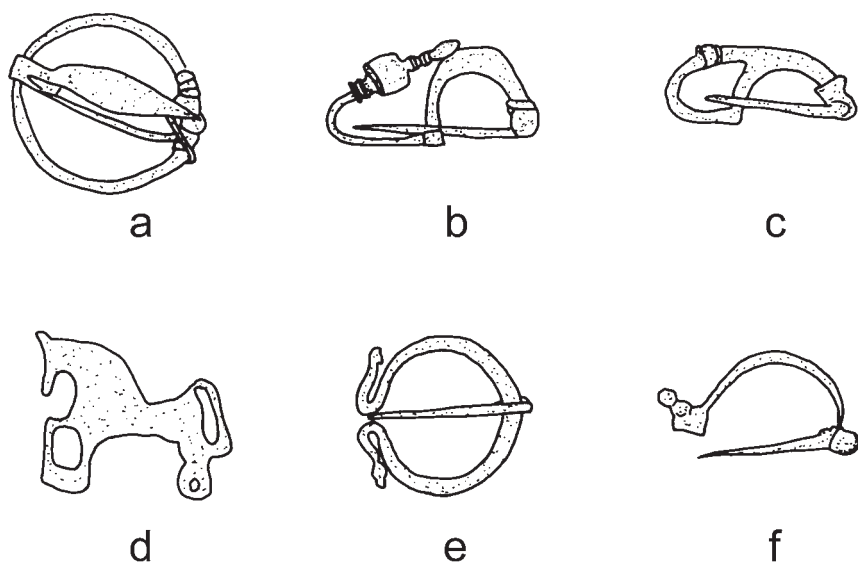


Figure 10.2 Celtiberian and Roman fibula types (not to same scale): a annular; b-c La Tène; d zoomorphic; e omega; f Aucissa.

Mariné Isidro 1993: 285–95). An Aucissa fibula at *Toletum* is roughly inscribed with the owner's name, M.F. SEX(TVS) (Sánchez-Palencia and Sáinz Pascual 1988: 13).

Jewelry is a means of displaying one's wealth and status; it is symbolically important in distinguishing social categories (Hodder 1992: 109–10). A wide assortment of personal ornaments was worn in pre-Roman times; many pieces of jewelry have appeared in buried hoards, often in company with silver coins, or individually in cremation graves. Silver or bronze bracelets (*viriae*) were especially popular, and are mentioned by literary sources as Celtic men's jewelry, together with neck torcs (Diodorus Siculus, 5.27.3; Strabo, 4.4.5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 31.39). Silver torcs consisting of smooth rings or of strands twisted into a rope – the true *torquis*, as opposed to a collar – have appeared principally in the hoards from Padilla de Duero (P), *Palantia*, Driebes (GU) and Salvacañete (CU) (Raddatz 1969: 214, 232–6, 234; Delibes de Castro *et al.* 1993: 400). While the fondness of the Celtiberians for jewelry is thus assured, there is some debate as to the gender of the wearers. Torcs were presumably for men, earrings and bead necklaces for women; but it is unclear whether bracelets, pendants and rings were worn by both. A woman (or goddess?) on a Numantine vase is shown wearing pectoral ornaments of concentric circles (Figure 8.1a), yet the pectoral plaques from *Termes*, in a cemetery containing military burials, have been seen as possible 'prestige goods' of elite males (Argente Oliver *et al.* 1992: 594–5). Whatever the gender, such elaborate ornaments indicate the high economic status of the deceased.

Roman-period jewelry differs from Celtiberian in two significant ways. We no longer have caches of silver treasure, since the peaceful conditions of the Early Empire made it unnecessary to bury one's valuables; and there is a much larger number of finger-rings. While some of the rings are inset with engraved gems, many others are of plain bronze bands without designs, so these finds suggest an increased use not only of signet rings, but of finger-rings generally. Some surviving examples have zoomorphic designs, such as rabbits or insects, engraved on the bronze itself (Apráiz 1952: 126; Medrano Marqués and Díaz Sanz n.d.). Bracelets are rare. Pendants of metal or bone sometimes adopt human themes (Osuna Ruiz *et al.* 1978: fig. 25.5; Rovira Llorens 1988: 341–3), while others, such as *bullae*, pierced coins and phallic ornaments, were intended as amulets.

Ethnographic sources refer to the Celts as having long, coarse hair (Strabo, 4.4.3; Diodorus Siculus, 5.28), though this may be part of the literary attribution of barbarity to foreign peoples. The Celtiberian personal and gentilic names Uliobos and Uloquum may plausibly be derived from Indo-European **pulo-*, meaning 'stiff or stubborn hair' (Curchin 2002a: 201). Although the left-hand figure on the warrior vase does have long hair, in most paintings the hair is not represented. As so often in Celtic art, male figures appear clean-shaven. Two Celtiberians at Rome – Catullus' acquaint-

tance Egnatius, and Martial a century later – are said to have shaggy hair and bristly cheeks (Catullus, 37.17–19; Martial, 10.65). However, Egnatius is not necessarily from the Meseta (Richardson 1995: 344), while the Martial passage probably refers to lack of a daily shave rather than a full beard (Booth 1985: 115). Back in *Bilbilis*, Martial's closely-shaved bailiff requests permission to cut his master's long hair (Martial 12.18; see Curchin, forthcoming b). Roman sculpture depicts Mesetan notables with Roman dress and haircuts, but these idealized portraits may differ from reality.

Iron razors for shaving have been found in both pre-Roman and Roman contexts. Bronze tweezers, found on many Celtiberian and Roman sites, were used to remove unwanted hair. We should avoid assuming that depilation was primarily for women: finds of razors and tweezers in Celtiberian 'warrior tombs' suggest that male practice included grooming the body before battle in anticipation of a 'beautiful death' (Ruiz Zapatero and Lorrio 2000). Women's hairstyles are hard to determine from sculpture, because of the scarf shown covering the head. Bone hairpins are a frequent find on Roman sites; one of them, from *Termes*, is carved with a female bust sporting the high, curled hairstyle typical of the Flavian period (Argente Oliver *et al.* 1980: 75 and fig. 28). A similar coiffure appears on women's tombstones from *Clunia*, dated to the late first century AD (Palol and Vilella 1987: nos. 40, 42). Women's cosmetics do not survive, but on Roman sites we have numerous bone spoons which could have been used for unguents, medicines, or scooping wax from ears. Slender glass vases (*unguentaria*) probably held perfumes (Schulten 1929: plate 76.9; Almagro Basch 1979: 238 and fig. 8; Vigil Pascual 1969: fig. 78), reflecting the attractiveness to Mesetan women of new fragrances from other parts of the Roman world. Bronze handles for Roman mirrors have been found at *Numantia* and *Arcobriga* (Taracena 1941: 79; Cerralbo 1987: 35 n. and plate LIV).

Literary sources (Catullus, 39; Strabo, 3.4.16; Vatican ms. 1469, in Grosse 1959: 444) claim that Celtiberians used their morning urine as mouthwash, though this is probably an invented stereotype aimed at making the indigenes appear subhuman. The supposed benefits of urine were known to the Egyptians, who used it as eyewash, and the Romans, who deemed it a cure for snakebite and ulcers (Bermejo Barrera 1981). Urine could also be used in washing or dyeing clothes: pre-Roman stone laundry tubs have been found at *Numantia* and Izana (SO) (Schulten 1933: 145; Taracena 1927: plate I), while a Roman fuller's shop at *Arcobriga* had a basin fed by a public urinal in the street above, similar to the famous *fullonica* of Stephanus at Pompeii (Cerralbo 1987: 29 and n. 45).

The inhabitants of Spain are said to have learned the custom of taking hot baths from the Romans after the second Punic war, though it is unlikely to have penetrated the Meseta until much later (Justin, 44.2.6). Scipio's soldiers at *Numantia* were forbidden to bathe (Plutarch, *Moralia* 201c). The Celtiberians, by contrast, are described as 'clean in their lifestyles' (Diodorus

Siculus, 5.33.6). In Roman culture, visiting the public baths was a characteristic social ritual, usually involving a physical workout and a massage as well as a wash. Here you could relax tired muscles while chatting with friends or conducting business. Remains of bath houses have been found at *Clunia*, *Bilbilis*, *Nertobriga*, *Arcobriga*, *Numantia*, *Aquae Bilbilitanorum* and *Villalazán* (ZA) in the northern Meseta; and at *Segobriga*, *Valeria*, *Complutum*, *Ercavica*, *Termes* and *Toletum* in the south. Ideally they were located away from residential quarters, so that local citizens could view the elite returning from the baths at the same time each day (Laurence 1994: 129). At *Complutum*, for instance, the baths were adjacent to the forum (Rascón Marqués 2000). The *apodyterium* of the Intramural Baths at *Segobriga* has sixteen vaulted niches, arranged over three walls, in which bathers could leave their clothing (Figure 10.3); early investigators (Quintero and Paris 1902: 246–8) mistook this room for a *columbarium*! Small vessels of glass and bronze found in this room were probably unguent bottles and oil flasks. Another building, known as the Monumental Baths, was located at the top of the hill, permitting maximum use of the sun's light and heat (Abascal *et al.* 1997).

But the public baths were used mostly by the elite and idlers; the working class seldom had time to enjoy these facilities (Laurence 1994: 139). Private baths in *domus* or villa provided a facility for entertaining guests and



Figure 10.3 *Apodyterium* of Intramural Baths, *Segobriga*.

clients. One such structure, discovered north of *Complutum*, comprises a suite of three pools (one of them circular), with other rooms behind which may be part of the main house (Rascón Marqués 1995: 85–7). There were also medicinal mineral baths at several rural sites which probably acted as spas. These include Baños de Cerrato (P) and Linares (SG), both of which have Roman construction remains, but inscriptions dedicated to the nymphs at various sites suggest there were others (Navarro García 1930–46, vol. 4: 15; González Salas *et al.* 1952: 225; Mora 1981: 53; Gómez-Pantoja 1997). Steam baths have been excavated at *Ercavica* and *Termes* (see chapter 8). Strigils, bronze instruments for scraping from the skin the oil that was used in place of soap, have been found in the Roman camps around *Numantia* (presumably antedating Scipio's prohibition) as well as at *Pisoraca* and *Ercavica* (Schulten 1912: col. 94; 1929: plate 40.1–2; Fernández Ibáñez and Illarregui Gómez 1985: 61; Osuna Ruiz 1976b: fig. 55.2).

Nouvelle cuisine: changes in dining habits

The preparation, serving and consumption of meals, and attitudes toward food and eating utensils, have great symbolic importance in social life (Hodder 1992: 109–10). Changes in dining habits and artifacts therefore indicate a fundamental change in behaviour and attitudes. How do eating rituals change between the pre-Roman and Roman eras? Despite Strabo's assertion (3.3.7) that the people of the Spanish highlands ate mostly goat's meat, animal bones show that the pre-Roman diet also included sheep, pigs, cattle, boar, deer, rabbit and fowl (González Salas 1953: 75; Cerdeño Serrano and García Huerta 1992: 133–6). Riverine fish, often represented on painted pottery, were undoubtedly another dietary component. However, despite the variety of edible fauna, the proportion of meat in the diet may have been quite small. Presumably the elite had a richer diet, but this cannot be shown unless we can link 'prestige' food remains, such as cattle bones, to the homes of the nobility. Analysis of human bones from the cemetery at *Numantia* (late third to mid-second century BC) reveals a diet rich in acorns and other vegetal products, and poor in animal proteins (Jimeno *et al.* 1993–4: 41–2). Carbonized seed remains from Celtiberian settlements include wheat, barley, millet, rye, spelt, vetch, carrot and celery (Cubero Corpas 1999). Millstones at *Numantia* contained the residue of wheat, barley and acorns, the principal sources of flour (Checa *et al.* 1999: 67). Spanish acorns are indeed listed as a delicacy by Varro (in Gellius, 6.16.5), and Strabo (3.3.7) mentions acorn bread as a staple in northern Spain. Acorns had the advantage of dependability; they were a lifeline if the cereal crop failed. In place of wine, the highlanders drank *caelia*, a beer made from fermented grain (Florus, 1.34.12; Orosius, 5.7). Wine began to be imported into the Meseta during the Late Republic, as can be traced from the amphora evidence.

The principal change in food in the Roman period was the use of olive oil to make stews, in place of the indigenous custom of boiled meats. Another novelty was the importation of salted fish from the coast; salt-fish amphoras from Baetica have been found in pre-Augustan levels at *Segobriga* (Almagro-Gorbea 1992: 278). Finds of Pompeian red ware, used for baking loaves, suggest a change in grain preparation from porridge to bread. (The name refers to the shade of red, not to importation from Pompeii.) To judge from the limited osteological evidence published, the Roman period sees a much stronger consumption of pork (19.7 per cent of the domestic mammal bones at *Termes*, versus 4.1 per cent at pre-Roman La Coronilla, GU) and a lower dependence on sheep and goats (57.5 per cent versus 72.8 per cent), but beef consumption remained similar (22.8 per cent versus 23.1 per cent) (Argente Oliver *et al.* 1984: 296; Cerdeño Serrano and García Huerta 1992: 134). While the Roman provinces never matched the pork-rich, beef-poor diet of Italy (King 2001: 213), the Meseta also lagged behind Baetica in pork consumption (Keay *et al.* 2000: 119).

While structuralists seek a code that explains the 'grammar' of meals, more recent work stresses taste and choice as factors affecting how people adopt the code. Since taste is a socially constructed experience as well as a personal one, a new cuisine becomes culturally acceptable or unacceptable according to oral reports. The proof of the pudding is in the hearing. Thus, while one cannot like a food without actually tasting it, one can choose to dislike it on the basis of negative societal perceptions (Maurer 1996). The implication of this syndrome for the Meseta is that the spread of new foods must have been accompanied by favourable publicity; otherwise they would not have been so widely adopted. Such positive reports may have come initially from Celtiberian mercenaries in Rome's armies, the first indigenes who would have experienced Roman food and drink, thereby initiating cultural authentication of the new cuisine. It then became part of the elite table, and eventually infiltrated other strata of society.

The Roman custom of reclining at dinner, which was enforced among Scipio's troops at *Numantia* (Plutarch, *Moralia* 201c), was adopted by the Romanized elite, who incorporated *triclinia* (dining rooms with couches) in their houses and villas. Originally a family ritual, dinner was frequently an occasion for social networking with friends and clients. While courtesans might lie beside the men, respectable women would dine seated on a high-backed chair (*cathedra*) while their men reclined at the same table. Relief stelae from Lara de los Infantes and from Soria province portray the deceased (usually, though not invariably, female) sitting rather than reclining in front of the table at the funeral banquet. The poor, lacking a *triclinium*, presumably sat on wooden stools or benches, or on the ground.

Cooking and baking facilities included hearths and ovens. Simple raised hearths have been found in Roman houses at *Numantia* (Taracena 1941: 7). Martial (12.18) describes the hearth (*focus*) in his home at *Bilbilis*, fuelled

with oak logs; its warmth greets him in the morning, and his bailiff's wife has already placed cooking-pots on it. Iron cooking-grills have been found in a Republican house at Caminreal (TE) (Vicente Redón *et al.* 1986: 11 and plate 12). Domestic ovens range from the clay example with vaulted roof in the pre-Roman settlement of La Dehesa de la Oliva (Patones, M) to the Roman brick oven in House 1 at *Clunia* (Cuadrado 1991: 198; Taracena 1946: 55–6 and fig. 24). The adoption of red-gloss table pottery (*terra sigillata*) is proved by sherds on practically every Roman site. Mortars for pulverizing spices and other ingredients are another frequent find, as are cooking pots and storage vessels (*dolia*). The possibility of a wooden amphora stand is suggested by circular post holes in the House of the Aqueduct at *Termes* (Argente Oliver 1991a: 130–1). Rotary stone querns for grinding grain continue with little change from the pre-Roman epoch.

If *terra sigillata* was the everyday table ware, the dinner service for fancier occasions was made of silver. By the time of the Empire, all but the poorest families would probably have owned a set of silver place settings, as well as separate display pieces received as wedding gifts or through inheritance (Strong 1966: 124). The really opulent would have had dishes and drinking vessels of gold, perhaps even encrusted with jewels. Because of its intrinsic worth, gold and silver plate was not left behind when sites were abandoned, though it was occasionally buried for safekeeping, with other valuables, in time of war. Such is assuredly the context of two silver cups, filled with 1300 Iberian and Republican denarii, found at Quintana Redonda (SO). These vessels, as well as another silver cup containing indigenous denarii at Retortillo (SO), were probably hidden during the Sertorian war (Taracena 1941: 137, 146). From the time of the Empire, our sole evidence consists of four silver *trullae* (dippers) of the first century AD, found at *Termes* in the nineteenth century. Two of these have Bacchic motifs in relief on the handle, with the name – whether of the manufacturer or the owner is unclear – Gnaeus Carvicius on the underside; the handles of the other two bear inscriptions in Latin letters but Celtiberian language, which appear to name two individuals in the dative case and may therefore be engravings for a gift or presentation (Ortego 1980: plates 32–3; Siles 1985). *Trullae* were used for serving wine (Horace, *Satires* 2.3.144; Martial, 9.96; cf. Allison 1999b: 67), a function confirmed by the Bacchic themes on these examples.

Imported recreations

The Romans introduced various forms of public entertainment to the Meseta, most notably gladiatorial fights, dramatic performances and chariot races. Evidence for these recreations is provided by the physical remains of amphitheatres, theatres and circuses on several sites. Theatres comprised a semicircular seating area (*cavea*) carved into a hillside, and a stage building (*scaena*) which formed a permanent backdrop for dramatic performances.

Four sections of rock-cut seating on the south side of *Termes*, once thought to be a theatre but lacking the characteristic semicircular shape, have recently been reinterpreted as a *comitium*, a meeting-place for public assemblies (Almagro-Gorbea 1999: 38–9). By contrast, we have well-documented theatres at *Bilbilis*, *Segobriga* and *Clunia*, with remains of the *scaena* surviving at all three sites. The last of these is the largest, with a diameter of 95 metres and an estimated seating capacity of 9,000 people (Gutiérrez Behemerid *et al.*, forthcoming), while the other two have a diameter of 67 metres and could seat about half that number. The *Segobriga* theatre was cleverly built into a slope with its rear wall abutting onto the city wall near the main gate (Figure 10.4); this allowed easy access to the seating area from ground level, through a covered portico (Almagro-Gorbea and Abascal, forthcoming). The *Bilbilis* theatre was unusual in being located in the city centre (Martín Bueno

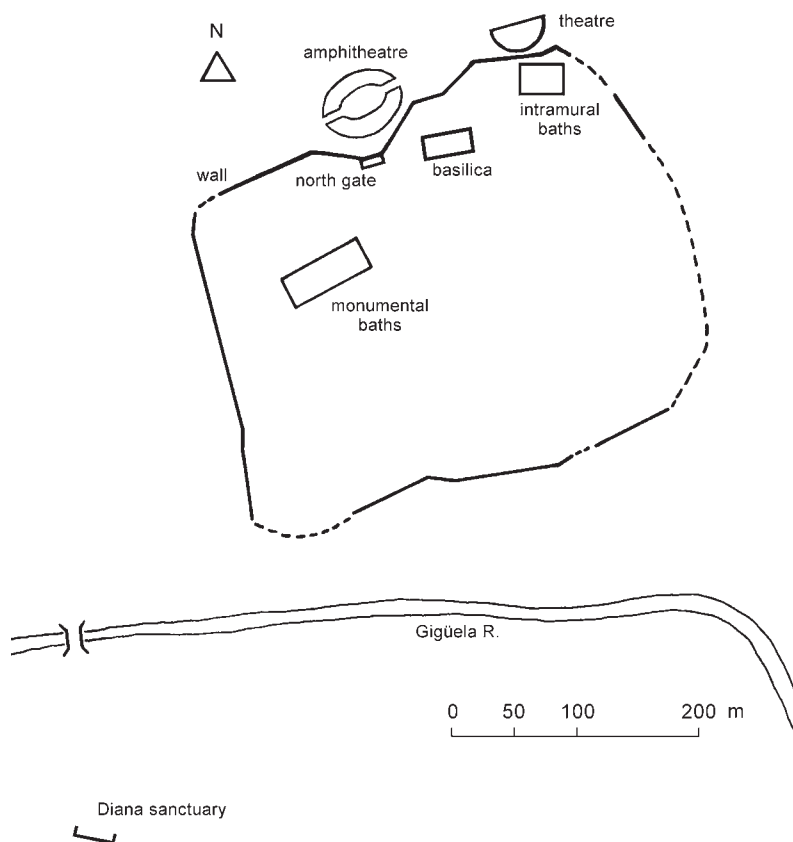


Figure 10.4 Plan of *Segobriga* (after Almagro-Gorbea and Abascal 1999).



Figure 10.5 Amphitheatre at Segobriga.

et al., forthcoming), while that at *Clunia* was on the outskirts of town. These theatres date to the first century AD (Julio-Claudian or Flavian), with some later modifications. While a Roman amphitheatre potentially lies under the modern Calle Honda at *Toletum* (Rey Pastor 1932: pl.II), the only excavated example is at *Segobriga* (Figure 10.5). It has exterior dimensions of 75 by 65 metres, with an interior arena of 40 by 34 metres, and seating for about 5,500 spectators. While the south half was carved out of the living rock, the north side is built of masonry. The completed structure dates to the Flavian period, though construction may have begun under the Julio-Claudians (Almagro Basch 1978: 67–78). Examples of circuses have been found at *Consabura* and *Toletum*. The former, poorly preserved, is more than 300 metres long, with an outer wall faced in sandstone blocks, and a seating capacity of about 10,000 (Giles Pacheco 1971). The well-preserved circus at *Toletum*, probably of the late first century AD, measures 423 by 101 metres, with seating for 13,000 (Figure 10.6). It has twelve *carceres*, a central spine 8.1 metres wide, and an exterior staircase like the famous theatre at Pompeii (Humphrey 1986: 350–9; Sánchez-Palencia and Sáinz Pascual 2001). It is curious that the northern Meseta has no circuses, since chariot races were the most popular Roman sport and northern Spain was famous for horses. This need not mean that such races did not occur here: any long, flat area could be used, with spectators seated on flanking hills or wooden bleachers.



Figure 10.6 Remains of the circus at *Toletum*.

These entertainments were famously open to everyone, including women and slaves, and were part of the ‘cultural vocabulary’ that united the diverse peoples of the empire (D.S. Potter 1999: 324–25). They were characteristically urban institutions, subsidized by local elites who saw social and political advantages in investing wealth on these popular events. For example, a *tessera lusoria* (token for admission to the games) from *Uxama* is inscribed SILONIS ‘(games) of Silo’ (*HEp* 7, 944). The popularity of public spectacles is further indicated by their frequent representation on clay lamps, which show chariots and charioteers, gladiators, wild-beast fights and boxers (Amaré Tafalla 1988: figs. 136–47; Morillo Cerdán 1992: 123–8; Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 1989: plates 14–15). The motifs are not fortuitous: people who bought lamps with such designs were making a conscious choice (Zanker 1988: 266). Although no amphitheatres have yet been found in the territory of the Vaccaei, gladiators are depicted on a glass ‘sport cup’ from *Palantia* and on statuettes from that city and *Saldania*, one representing a *retiarius* and the other a *secutor* (Vigil Pascual 1969: 100–2; Elorza 1975: 164–6). The adoption of these Roman forms of entertainment is not difficult to understand: a chariot race is exciting in any culture, and in the aftermath of the Celtiberian wars the predisposition to armed violence would have found a safe outlet in the viewing of institutionalized death in an arena. Theatre may not have been such a novelty – Martial’s intriguing reference to ‘the ancient theatres of our ancestors’ at *Riga* near *Bilbilis* (4.55.19) perhaps

hints at pre-Roman drama – but the transition to Roman theatre raises two problems which are at present insoluble. First, although many townsmen would have understood Latin (if only as a second language), what about people coming from outlying villages and farms for the festivals, with little or no knowledge of Latin? Were some plays presented in the Celtiberian language for such an audience, or was sitting through Roman plays considered an entertaining way to learn Latin? Or did non-Latin speakers simply avoid the theatre and seek other amusements? The second problem is, how can we know what kinds of plays were presented? They could have included the comedies of Plautus and Terence (in a slightly outdated, but still comprehensible Latin), or perhaps the tragedies of the Spanish-born Seneca, steeped in Stoicism and bloodshed. The latter may have found an appreciative audience in the Meseta even if (as many scholars believe) they were too gory to be staged at Rome. Mimes, pantomimes and Atellan farces may also have been popular, as they were in Italy (Beacham 1991: 128–51).

Amateur sports are also attested. A discus-thrower is represented on a wall painting from *Arcobriga* (Cerralbo 1987: plate XXIII), and actual discuses were reportedly found at *Palantia* (Navarro García 1930–46, vol. 4: 120). Mesetans were also fond of swimming: Appian (*Iberica* 91) records that the Celtiberians knew how to swim and dive, while Martial (1.49.9–12) refers to swimming in the lakes and rivers around *Bilbilis*. Swimming pools (*natationes*) have been found in the public baths at *Ercavica* and *Segobriga*. A poetic allusion to the Celtiberian fondness for hunting (Silius Italicus, 3.389–90) is confirmed by frequent finds of deer, boar, rabbit and partridge bones on pre-Roman sites, representing between 3 and 18 per cent of all animal bones (Blasco Sancho 1999: 154). Some of the lances and arrowheads found in Celtiberian tombs may be hunting equipment rather than weapons of war, while the so-called loom weights from *Numantia* could be weights for fishing and hunting nets (Arlegui Sánchez and Ballano Soriano 1995: 154). In the Imperial period, hunting is represented on stelae from Lara de los Infantes (BU) and on a third-century bronze bucket from Bueña (TE) (Abásolo 1974: 171; Atrián Jordán *et al.* 1980: 122–3); it is also mentioned as the favourite sport of the deceased on a tombstone from *Clunia* (CIL II, 6338n). Hunting was undoubtedly also an entertainment of the villa-owning elite; certainly mosaics with a hunting theme are common in Late Roman villas.

Grave concerns: funerary customs and symbols

‘In death people often become what they have not been in life’ (Hodder 1982: 201). How can we trace transformations of identity beyond the grave? Cemeteries are among the most numerous sites surviving from ancient times, and among the most significant. Tombs can provide evidence not only for beliefs about the afterlife, but for material culture and social differentiation as revealed by grave goods. These funerary artifacts are not an exact mirror of

social reality, but part of a symbolic 'code' betokening popular conceptions of death and the afterlife (Hodder 1992: 109; Fernández-Posse 1998: 190). The extent to which the 'otherworld' was thought to resemble the real world thus conditions the relevance of these artifacts to the life of the deceased. As a remnant of social ritual, tomb evidence can also reveal human behaviour and social relations (Trinkhaus 1984: 674). The elaboration of the tomb, the richness of the deposited artifacts, and (in Roman contexts) the wording of the funerary inscription, may reflect the emotional responses of surviving relatives in expressing grief, remembrance or fear of the dead (Tarlow 1999: 35). Since funerary space and ritual exist not only at the personal but also at the community level, it is important to consider cemeteries as well as individual tombs. The dynamics revealed by cemeteries include not only the relationship between the living and the dead, but distinctions between different social groups and the dialectic between past and present as expressed by continuity or change in cemeteries and funeral practices (Parker Pearson 1982). The student of Romanization must examine what changes took place in funerary structures between the Iron II and Roman periods, and what was their social significance. In particular, we want to know how 'becoming Roman' affected mortuary practices and cultural identity, and how a Romanized community dealt with death (Fontana 2001: 165). While the material evidence fails to record certain details – for instance, the funeral procession which was integral to Roman (and perhaps Celtiberian) custom – there are ample indications of other aspects of death.

Little can be said for certain about pre-Roman ideas of death. According to literary sources, the Celts believed that death was only the midpoint of life; after leaving this world, one spent another lifetime in the otherworld (Lucan, 1.457–8). We are told, moreover, that the bodies of Celtiberian males who died in battle were not buried, but left exposed; psychopompic birds of prey would then carry their souls to heaven (Silius Italicus, 3.341–3; Aelian, *De natura animalium* 10.22; cf. Sopena Genzor 1995: 184–262). If this information is true, the occupants of pre-Roman cemeteries would be women and children, and men who died of sickness or old age. It is unclear whether the rich panoply of weapons found in some cemeteries disproves the practice of excarnation (exposure of the dead) or represents men of fighting age who died in peaceful circumstances. Some could even be the grave goods of mercenaries who survived and returned home. Those tombs without weapons were not necessarily non-warriors, since a father's arms might be passed to his son rather than cremated. Also, some tombs without visible armaments may originally have contained perishable militaria such as wooden shields or leather helmets (Argente Oliver *et al.* 2000: 57–8). Another factor to consider is that grave goods are less a reflection of the identity of the living person than a representation of the deceased as envisaged in contemporary eschatological beliefs. Thus, weapons or other artifacts buried with the dead may be accoutrements of an idealized identity in the next world,

rather than articles regularly used by them in life (Tarlow 1999: 178). Archaeological evidence does provide one clue to the Celtiberian ideology of the afterlife. Christians today are buried without grave goods or other symbols of rank because they believe in equality in the next world (Trinkhaus 1984: 675). Conversely, the display of rank apparent in the differentiation of grave goods in Celtiberian cemeteries presumes a belief in a socially stratified otherworld.

Like their associated settlements, Celtiberian cemeteries are far more numerous than those of the Early Empire, which serviced fewer and larger communities. More than eighty pre-Roman cemeteries are known in our region, all of them involving cremation before inhumation (Curchin 1997b: 11–12, to which add Barrio Martín 1991: 389–91; Valero Tévar 1999). This was a labour-intensive disposal method, since cremation required the collection of large quantities of firewood, a scarce commodity in some parts of the Meseta. Whether there were religious reasons for preferring cremation is unclear. However, cremating the dead and enclosing their ashes in urns had the advantage of protecting the bodies from wild animals, and perhaps allowing temporary storage if the ground was too frozen to dig. The ashes, usually (though not always) placed in urns, were buried in a pit, in some cases lined with stones; in some cemeteries the grave is marked by a tumulus or an uninscribed stele. The energy expended in erecting tumuli and stelae, and their continuing visibility after the funeral, intimate important links between the deceased and the living. In the eastern Meseta, the tombs were often aligned in 'streets', representing a true 'necropolis' or city of the dead (Cerdeño Serrano and García Huerta 1990: 87–9).

Pre-Roman cemeteries tend to conform to a standard set of funerary 'rules'. They are regularly sited on low ground at some distance from, but within sight of, the settlement. Their proximity to a stream or spring suggests that water was needed for the funerary ritual, perhaps to purify the participants (Jimeno 1996: 71). A few towns, like *Uxama* and Aguilar de Anguita (GU) had more than one cemetery. The number of tombs sometimes exceeds a thousand; the 5,300 graves at Aguilar de Anguita are exceptional, representing burials from the sixth to second centuries BC (Curchin 1997b: 14). There is little evidence for segregation by social class within the cemetery, though at *Numantia* persons of high status (as suggested by 'prestige' grave goods) seem to have been buried on the upper part of the slope, with a stretch of unused ground separating them from the other tombs (Jimeno 1996: 60–1). Grave goods, deposited in or beside the urn, include jewelry, pottery, weapons and animal (usually cattle or sheep) bones, the last possibly representing portions of meat from a funeral banquet 'shared' with the deceased (Jimeno *et al.* 1993–4: 42; Liesau von Lettow-Vorbeck and Blasco Bosqued 1999: 144–5). In one tomb at Clares (GU) the deceased wore a necklace with representations of swans and moons, emblems associated with the otherworld (Malpesa Montemayor 1993). The nature and number of

the grave gifts often suggest the sex and socio-economic status of the departed one, though this is not an infallible criterion. The problem of the presence of weapons in tombs containing 'feminine' artifacts may stem from modern assumptions about gender roles. Perhaps some Celtiberian women were armed, or perhaps some items of 'feminine' jewelry were worn by both sexes (Curchin 1997b: 16–17). In a few cases, the items buried included agricultural tools, suggesting the profession of the deceased (Barril Vicente 1993). Some of the weapons had been bent, probably with the deliberate purpose of 'killing' them and thereby consigning them to the otherworld. Grave goods at Cuéllar (SG) and Palenzuela (P) included miniature pots and metal objects, symbolically representing full-sized ones.

Ironically, the third and second centuries BC, the period that includes the Celtiberian wars against Carthage and Rome, see a sharp decline in the presence of weaponry in the tombs by contrast with those of the sixth to fourth centuries. This could reflect a change in eschatology – a diminishing belief that the otherworld was a warrior society – or simply a disinclination to destroy needed hardware. Indeed, many cemeteries of this period show an impoverishment of metal artifacts generally, as well as the use of liquid offerings (evidenced by specialized vase types) in place of more costly animal sacrifice (Arenas Esteban 1999: 251).

The use of many indigenous cemeteries appears to cease by the second century BC, when the process of Romanization of the Meseta was already beginning. The earliest evidence of Roman influence consists of Iberian black-gloss vases from the east coast, imitating Campanian ware, in Carpetanian cemeteries of the third and second centuries BC (Llopis y Llopis 1950: 197; Carrobbles Santos and Ruiz Zapatero 1990: 241). However, very few indigenous cemeteries seem to continue into the first century BC or beyond. Among these may be mentioned two cemeteries (named Fuentelaraña and Portugüí) at *Uxama* which were abandoned in the first century BC, and the Carratiermes cemetery at *Termes*, with coins and pottery as late as the second century AD (Curchin 1997b: 20–2). The cemeteries at *Laminium* and Padilla de Duero (VA) begin in the fourth century BC, but their grave goods include Arretine plates of the first century AD at the former, and a Flavian lamp-stand at the latter (Fernández-Rodríguez and Serrano Anguita 1995: 191; Sanz Mínguez 1998: 132–3). All of these cemeteries involve incineration. The continuity of this indigenous practice is not necessarily a counter-argument to Romanization, since cremation was becoming increasingly popular at Rome in the first century BC in place of the traditional rite of inhumation. A more perplexing issue is the impossibly small number of cemeteries datable to the first century BC. The likeliest explanation, in my view, is that many of the cemeteries which scholars assume to have been abandoned by the second century BC because they contain no Roman materials, in fact include first-century tombs; this in turn suggests that some 'pre-Roman' artifacts had a longer life than is sometimes supposed.

During the Early Empire, twenty new cemeteries appear in the Meseta: seven of these are cremation cemeteries, for example *Segobriga* and the Eras del Bosque necropolis at *Palantia*, while thirteen are of inhumation type, including *Complutum*, *Toletum* and the east cemetery at *Palantia* (Curchin 1997b: 25–7). The known cemeteries invariably lie outside the towns, in compliance with Roman law. In addition to hypogeal tombs, there is some evidence for standing mausolea, such as the first-century turritiform tomb at *Clunia* (Cancela Ramírez 2001: 109 and fig. 11). Aerial photography at the entrance to this city reveals a number of square buildings enclosed by walls, probably funerary monuments, lining both sides of the road (Olmo Martín 2001). Further cemeteries still await discovery, including that of *Bilbilis* where the poet Martial may be buried. Infants less than a year old were not buried in cemeteries but under the floors of houses, as evidenced by finds at *Bilbilis* and *Uxama* (Martín Bueno 1991: 178; García Merino and Sánchez Simón 1994).

In place of the weapons and jewelry of the pre-Roman graves, we now find Roman pottery, coins, glass and lamps. If some of these modest assemblages belong to the elite, they were obviously rechanneling their extravagance into adorning their cities rather than their sepulchres. The tenets of Roman eschatology also furnish an explanation for the relative poverty of these mortuary deposits. Whereas Celtic belief stressed continuity of material life in the next world, and therefore the need to bring one's possessions, Romans could look forward only to the boring Plain of Asphodel. Grave goods were thus not a necessity for the afterlife, but simply a means of honouring the dead and providing them with comforting mementos (Toynbee 1971: 53). The presence of 'Roman' grave goods is not necessarily proof of a Roman identity, since they may represent what was available at the time, or what relatives may have chosen. Many of the artifacts, such as painted pottery of indigenous tradition, seem more a concession to the past than an acceptance of Roman culture. Superstition and myth are also in evidence. Some Meseta tombs have phalluses or bells to repel evil spirits. Images of Mercury, escort of the dead to the Underworld, have appeared in Early Imperial cemeteries, on a medallion at *Complutum* and a statuette at La Puebla de Montalbán (TO) (Fernández-Galiano and Garcés Toledano 1978: plate VIIb; Cedillo 1959: 241).

Apart from the novelty of inhumation, the most important change from the pre-Roman period is the use of Latin inscriptions on the tombstones, providing us with precious information on the identity and life of the deceased. These vehicles for the epigraphy of death normally take the form of a stele, less often a plaque or funerary altar; occasionally we encounter the *cupa*, a semicylindrical memorial inscribed at one end (Knapp 1992: nos. 135, 137; Hernández Guerra 1994: no. 49; Abascal 1999a: 298). At *Segobriga* there are funerary monuments consisting of limestone blocks, curved on top like *cupae*, with recessed busts of the deceased in the corners (Baena del Alcázar 1993: 148–9). The reason for the choice of monument (for example, stele versus altar) is rarely apparent, but must have been meaningful to the

dedicants who consciously chose it. Unfortunately, only in rare cases are tomb and tombstone excavated together; most surviving funerary memorials are divorced from their original context. Occasionally, either the epitaph or the contents of the grave indicate that two or more family members were buried together.

In addition to the epitaph, some tombstones bear a relief decoration, usually on a discoid, semicircular or triangular gable above the inscription, though sometimes at the side or bottom. The use or non-use of such decoration might depend on the wealth of the deceased, a decorated memorial being naturally more expensive; yet in some districts a more pressing criterion was the perceived necessity of certain funerary symbols, as dictated by tradition or beliefs about the afterlife. Thus the stelae of Zamora province, though often bearing brief and humble inscriptions, are almost invariably surmounted by an intricately carved 'solar wheel' with swirling spokes (Abásolo and García Rozas 1990). There may also have been changes in decorative trends over time, which cannot be adequately documented because many inscriptions are not closely datable.

This sepulchral decoration was not merely artistic embellishment, but a deliberate iconographic programme of meaningful funerary symbols. These are far from homogeneous in their cultural identity and their typology. Some motifs are clearly Celtic, others undoubtedly Roman, while still others could belong to either culture. Some refer to the earthly life of the deceased, others to the promise of an afterlife, and some to the transition between the two worlds. When multiple symbols appear on the same stele, some interpretation is necessary to determine their hierarchy and combined significance. One indigenous motif, already mentioned, is the solar wheel which symbolizes the sun's rotation through the heavens; as the sun is reborn each day, so the dead will live again in the next world. In place of this solar wheel (usually with six or twelve spokes) we often find a six-petalled rosette in a circle, which may likewise be a stylized sun, but in any case is another symbol of rebirth (Green 1992: 179). Another solar emblem, the swastika, was probably apotropaic, protecting the dead from maleficent spirits. The crescent moon (which appears far less frequently than solar symbols) is possibly a Celtic motif, but more likely a Roman one, since in classical thought the moon symbolized the abode of the dead, and thus the hope of an afterlife (Cumont 1942: 177, 203). Pairs of right-angled brackets, sometimes found below solar or lunar symbols, are usually (if perhaps fancifully) explained as the gateway to the next world. Arcades – a series of two or more arches – are most plausibly interpreted as the mansion of the dead, accessible through one or more portals (Osaba y Ruiz 1958: 25). Ivy leaves and vines are symbolic of immortality, though the latter can also have Bacchic significance. Conifer trees, which appear amid solar and other indigenous symbols on a funerary altar from Roda de Eresma (SG) (Knapp 1992: no. 289), likewise symbolize everlasting life (Figure 10.7).

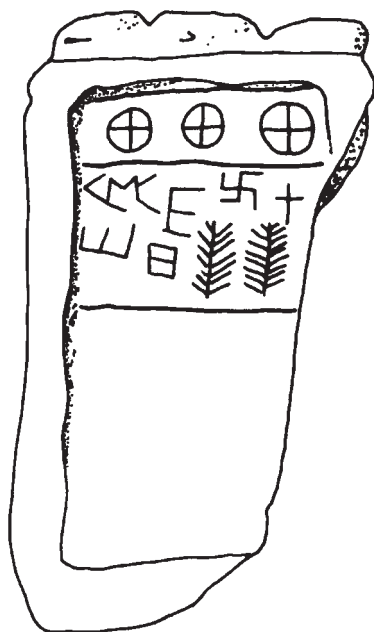


Figure 10.7 Funerary altar from Roda de Eresma (SG), decorated with spoked wheels (stars?), coniferous trees and other symbols.

Human and animal motifs abound in funerary sculpture. Actual portrait busts, such as the wreathed heads from *Clunia* and *Astudillo* (P) (Abásolo 1992; 1985: 166 and fig. 19), are rare in our region. Frequently in north-eastern Soria, and occasionally elsewhere, we find schematic outlines of the head and neck of the deceased (Espinosa 1992: 911). Men who served in the Roman army are sometimes portrayed as footsoldiers, such as the legionary with drawn sword at *Uxama* (Jimeno 1980: no. 86) and the auxiliary infantryman with spear and shield at *Lara de los Infantes* (B) (Abásolo 1974: no. 124). Far more frequent, especially at *Lara* though occasionally at other sites in Burgos and Soria provinces, is the representation of a funeral banquet. The deceased is shown seated at a three-legged table, on which rest a drinking vessel and a loaf of bread in the shape of a twisted ring. On some examples, a servant stands beside the table. The deceased are usually (but not always) women, and are invariably sitting rather than reclining (Fernández Fuster 1954: 245–59). In north-eastern Soria, tombstones of men and women are often decorated with carvings of cattle, perhaps representing the ‘herding culture’ of this district, or perhaps pointing to expected prosperity in the afterlife (Espinosa and Usero 1988: 477–504). Likewise, representations of men hunting deer or boar may reflect either a pastime in this world

or one anticipated in the next. However, the favourite representation of men on these stelae is as mounted horsemen. This motif has a dual significance, the transportation of the soul to the next world, and the idealization of the deceased as a hero. This 'equestrian apotheosis' recalls the nobility of cavalry in the pre-Roman period, as well as the perception of the horse as psychopomp (Ortego 1975; Marco Simón 1978: 34–7). Other animals are represented less often. Birds were regarded in both Celtic and Roman thought as carriers of souls to the afterlife. Dolphins, which decorate several stelae from Burgos and Soria provinces, are a Greco-Roman funerary motif, alien to the indigenous tradition of the Meseta (Gamer 1974: 222). So is the sphinx that confronts a warrior on a stele from Lara (Abásolo 1974: no. 128). Snakes, chthonian animals associated with the underworld and with immortality, are shown on stelae from Lara and *Clunia* (Abásolo 1974: no. 183; Palol and Vilella 1987: 19–20). More unusual is the figure of a bat on a stele from Montalbo (CU), shown in Figure 10.8 (Calleja Guijarro 1978). This may reflect the common Greco-Roman belief in the 'winged soul', or it may be a reminiscence of Homer's comparison of the shades with bats (*Odyssey* 24.6–9).



Figure 10.8 Funerary stele, with bat, from Montalbo (CU).

Mental transformations

'Romanization . . . was not so much a process as a state of mind' (Mierse 1999: 303). It is no easy task to trace the Romanization of the mind, since surviving evidence rarely discloses the attitudes and conceptions of the indigenes. Nonetheless, an attempt must be made to reconstruct how Romanization changed the way people thought. While classical literature dismissed the Celtiberians as ignorant of reason (*rationis indociles*: Frontinus, *Stratagems* 1.11.3) – part of a wide-ranging stereotype that saw foreigners as inferior beings – we do know something of the Celtiberian mind: their reverence of nature, their respect for the dead, and their warrior mentality. Valerius Maximus (2.6.11) contrasts the greed and usury of the Gauls with 'the fervent and courageous philosophy of the Cimbri and Celtiberians, who were delighted to die gloriously and blissfully in battle, but who lamented when sick that they were about to perish shamefully and miserably'. This fear of dishonour rather than death drove the last defenders of *Numantia* to commit suicide, an action which the Romans – as is clear from the repeated mention of this episode in literature – found shocking and unintelligible. For their part, the indigenes must have regarded the Romans as hated conquerors destroying their world. But perceptions change as time heals old wounds and people accommodate themselves to altered realities. The attitude of the Celtiberians to Rome in the time of Augustus was very different from that of their great-great-grandfathers whose liberty, wealth and often lives were snatched away in the Celtiberian wars. By the Early Empire, that struggle was a distant historical memory, and Central Spain had been integrated into the Roman world.

With Roman control of the Meseta came the spread of Roman ideas, which in turn sparked social change. However, the exchange of information was mutual, as can be seen by the vast amount of ethnographic information, valid or fabulous, gathered by Posidonius. Roman social, religious and cultural values gradually penetrated and influenced the Celtiberian mind. A wide range of technological improvements, from hypocausts to writing tablets, facilitated everyday life. The Roman social hierarchy was imitated in local communities, Celtic and Roman deities were syncretized, and Roman art-forms became widespread. The adoption of Roman lifestyles and symbols became a goal of the indigenous elite and those who emulated them. Roman cultural symbols served as mental girders, providing structure to new thought processes (Robb 1998: 335).

People used Roman artifacts both for their functional advantages and in order to acquire a Roman identity. Becoming increasingly Roman-thinking, they learned Latin, competed for Roman citizenship, worshipped the Imperial cult, and acquired a taste for Roman food, interior decoration and entertainment. Even the lower class must have been affected by the psychological shock of abandoning their secure hilltop villages and moving to Romanized

sites in the plain, where for the first time they encountered central market-places, temples, lawcourts, schools and tax collectors, as well as such amenities as sanitary sewers and fresh water delivered by aqueduct. These amenities, standard in every town, formed an 'ideological package' which was adopted wholesale by the provincials (Zanker 1988: 352). In time they learned to accept Roman political values, including the magisterial system and the importance of citizenship. Trade contacts with Italy and other distant lands promoted the realization that Central Spain was an integral part of the larger Roman world; this broadened mentality is illustrated by the use of lamps portraying dolphins, lions and elephants, all foreign to the Meseta but common in Mediterranean iconography (Amaré Tafalla 1984b: 37–8). Accessibility to imported commercial goods changed not only the material culture of the region but also the perceptions, expectations and values of consumers.

Communication was the crucial vehicle for the diffusion of new ideas. By 'communication' is meant the transmission of information, not only from person to person but from artifact to person. An artifact may be defined as anything, large or small, produced by humans. The information conveyed by artifacts to humans could have a profound impact on their mental outlook. An indigenous farmer who saw, stretching across the landscape, a stone-paved road or an aqueduct that had not been there a year before, could hardly fail to be impressed by the size and utility of Roman engineering. If the farmer travelled to the city – itself an impressive artifact – he might see men wearing the toga. Had he never seen such a garment before, the farmer might make inquiries of the townsmen, who would indoctrinate him into the symbolic code that identified that form of dress with a Roman citizen. If a woman went shopping, or visited a friend's house, and saw for the first time a set of *terra sigillata* vessels, a visual message would be conveyed by the unfamiliar artifacts. Whether her mental reaction to the new stimulus was positive or otherwise, she could not help noticing that the vessels differed not only in colour and texture from the pottery she had known before, but also in shape, which suggested that they were needed for a new type of cooking. Either through curiosity, or on the recommendation of a friend, she might purchase a set of the new ware and experiment with Roman cuisine, thereby becoming Romanized in cultural practice as well as in her possessions.

Now, adoption of foreign artifacts does not automatically mean the abandonment of traditional values and behaviour (Percival 1987: 542). But Roman ways of thinking eventually predominated. With no written literature to preserve their glorious past, the traditions and language of the Celtiberians faded further from memory with each generation. By teaching Roman culture, schools undermined the collective remembrance of indigenous heritage. Not only Latin language but also classical literature became engrained in the provincial mind, as shown for instance by the rock-carved quotation from Vergil's *Aeneid* at Peñalba de Villastar (TE), and the

exhortation to moderate drinking on a cup from Huete (CU) which appears to reflect the Stoic emphasis on temperate behaviour (*HAE*, 1150; *HEp* 4, 364). This is the closest we come to evidence for intellectualism in the Meseta. The widespread erection of stones with Roman inscriptions shows the adoption both of the Roman 'epigraphic habit' and of new ways of thinking. Inscribed tombstones not only preserved and publicized the memory of the deceased (Woolf 1996: 32) but fulfilled posthumously an individual's need for identity and recognition. Laudatory epithets on these monuments, praising the affection, piety and other qualities of deceased relatives, reveal both sentimentality and acceptance of Roman moral values. The phrase *heredes ex testamento* in epitaphs shows that Mesetans adopted the Roman preoccupation with keeping property in the family, by making wills and appointing heirs. Votive inscriptions attest to a change in religious thinking: the Celts had made votive offerings to their gods, but the Roman legalistic mind demanded that the fulfilment of the vow be recorded in writing. The use of Roman calendar dates, not only on official inscriptions but in such informal contexts as the cave graffiti at Pedraza (SG) (Corchón 1997: 237, 244), shows that the organization of the year was now thought of in Roman terms.

While some Roman ideas may have been absorbed through osmosis, others were deliberately and forcefully implanted in the indigenous mind through the use of various propaganda media which disseminated the Imperial ideology. Ideology performs several functions: it motivates action (for instance, local participation in the Imperial cult), legitimizes or hides inequalities between the ruling and subject populations, and portrays the interests of one dominant group as the interests of all (Hodder 1982: 209; Sinopoli 1994: 167). Images of Roman deities and rulers were visible everywhere on statuary and coins, and their names and importance were proclaimed on large inscriptions in public places. Shrines of the Imperial cult stressed the divinity of the emperors and the implicit approval of the gods for their actions. The reverse sides of Imperial coins bore pictures and legends, changed frequently to catch the eye, conveying propaganda messages such as the glory of Rome and the harmony of the empire. Monumental buildings in Meseta cities, as well as the ribbons of paved road criss-crossing the rural terrain, proclaimed the grandeur and benefits of Roman civilization. Rome's destiny and greatness were also communicated through the literary works of such authors as Vergil and Livy, which would have been standard reading in schools – models of Roman thought as well as Latin style. Through constant exposure to reminders of Rome's greatness, many provincials internalized the ideology of empire (Ando 2000: xii). Yet despite the omnipresence of such messages, not everyone acquired the Romanizing mindset. The continued production and use of artifacts of pre-Roman origin (such as painted pottery) and the persistence of old customs (such as worship of non-Roman gods) suggest a conscious choice by at least part of the

population to retain some indigenous traditions. Thus while Roman and indigenous cultures converged in many ways, traditional values still persisted. Moreover, with the possible exception of the elite, provincials had little interest in what was happening at Rome, preferring to worry about their own affairs (James 2001: 201). This dialectic between acculturation and retention is by no means confined to the region and period under study, but is part of a universal phenomenon. A recent survey of sixty-five modern societies, comprising 75 per cent of the world's population, found ample evidence for both culture change and persistence of indigenous traditions. The same study showed that culture change tends to follow ideological or religious paths (Inglehart and Baker 2000), a finding that analogically reinforces the importance of Imperial ideology and the Imperial cult in stimulating Romanization.

Conclusions

Evidence for daily life and funerary customs in Central Spain amply illustrates the Romanization of behaviour. However, the impact of Roman culture on everyday life in the Meseta was not uniform, since many of our data pertain to the lifestyles of the elite.

The adoption of Roman social customs contributed to a Romanized identity. Roman clothing and jewelry were symbolic vehicles of social display and opulence. Grooming remoulded the body in the Roman image; hair and beard were cut to avoid a 'barbarous' appearance. Public bath houses facilitated hygiene while stimulating social and commercial contacts. Mesetans assimilated new ways of preparing and consuming meals, including new types of food and utensils. As well they practised new modes of dining, adopting the social rhythms that accompanied Roman cuisine. The Roman 'cultural package' embraced by Mesetans also included new forms of popular entertainment, from gladiator fights to the theatre.

Mortuary practices shed light on changing popular perceptions of death and ideas about the afterlife. They provide valuable data on the identity of the deceased and the behaviour of those who buried them. Cremation, the invariable pre-Roman rite, gradually gives way to the Roman practice of inhumation. Decisions regarding grave goods, inscriptions and relief decorations reveal much about popular custom and beliefs. A rich vocabulary of funerary symbols decorates tombstones, in some cases portraying the deceased, in others reflecting beliefs about the next world. Despite the Latin epitaph, the accompanying symbolism often echoes indigenous tradition, showing that individuals had not totally abandoned their old beliefs. We thus encounter a situation in which inherited values survive the process of convergence with Roman funerary practice. While R. Jones (1987a: 831) remarks how quickly burial practice changed across the Roman empire, such change is not really apparent until the first century AD, two centuries after

the conquest. But Romanization involved changes in abstract as well as material ways, as the mental patterns of the provincials were affected by the spread of new ideas, by the development of an urban mentality, and by ideological manipulation through the medium of official propaganda. Many Mesetans internalized Roman cultural values, altering their perceptions of life as they adopted a Roman outlook.

APPENDIX 1

Circulation of major Republican mints

<i>Mint</i>	<i>East Coast</i>	<i>Andalusia</i>	<i>Portugal</i>	<i>Asturias</i>	<i>Extrapeninsular</i>
arekorata	X	X	X	X	Barcus (Fr. Pyrenees) Nador (Morocco)
bilbiliz	X	—	X	X	Béziers (France)
sekaiza	X	X	X	—	Menorca (Balears) Toulouse (France)
sekobirikez	X	X	X	X	Ibiza (Balears) Barcus
turiazu	X	X	X	X	Barcus

APPENDIX 2

Circulation of major Julio-Claudian mints

<i>Mint</i>	<i>East Coast</i>	<i>Andalusia</i>	<i>Portugal</i>	<i>Asturias</i>	<i>Extrapeninsular</i>
Bilbilis	X	—	X	X	Ceuta (Morocco) St. Jean le Vieux (France) Bordeaux (France) Titelberg (Luxembourg)
Clunia	X	—	X	X	
Ercavica	X	—	X	—	
Segobriga	X	—	X	X	Tamuda (Morocco) Valentia Banassa (Morocco) Menorca
Turiaso	X	X	X	X	Vindonissa (Switzerland) Menorca, Mallorca

APPENDIX 3

Indigenous (or suspected indigenous) deities in inscriptions
(where the nominative form of the theonym cannot be determined, the dative is given)

<i>Deity</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Aeius Daicinus	Hontangas (BU)	Abásolo 1973: 443–4
Aironi deo (<i>dat.</i>)	Uclés (CU)	Almagro Basch 1984: no. 15
Aius Ragatus	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 209
Amma	<i>Segobriga</i>	Almagro Basch 1984: no. 19
Arco	Saldaña de Ayllón (SG)	<i>HAE</i> , 394 (wrong provenance)
Arco	Saldaña de Ayllón (SG)	Gómez-Pantoja, forthcoming
Aside (<i>dat.</i>)	Espinosa de Henares (GU)	<i>AE</i> 1987, 646
Atemnia	Yanguas (SO)	<i>HEp</i> 5, 756
Bandue	Orgaz (TO)	Hübner 1899a: no. 179
Boiogena	Lara de los Infantes (BU)	Abásolo 1974: no. 39
Dialcus	<i>Segobriga</i>	Almagro Basch 1984: no. 20
Divis (<i>dat.</i>)pro fortuna	<i>Clunia</i>	<i>HEp</i> 2, 82
Drusuna	Olmillos (SO)	<i>HEp</i> 6, 893
Drusuna	Olmillos (SO)	<i>HEp</i> 6, 894
D[-]suna	<i>Segobriga</i>	Abascal and Cebrián 2000: 199–200
Duillis (<i>dat.</i>)	<i>Palantia</i>	Hernández Guerra 1994: no. 2
Duillis (<i>dat.</i>)	<i>Palantia</i>	Hernández-Guerra 1994: no. 3
Duiris Ordaecis (<i>dat.</i>)	Valdegaña (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no. 32
Epona	Lara de los Infantes (BU)	<i>HAE</i> , 1524
Epona	<i>Segontia</i>	<i>CIL</i> II, 5788

<i>Deity</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Lattueriis (<i>dat.</i>)	Hinojosa de la Sierra (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no. 14
Louterde (<i>dat.</i>)	Abánades (GU)	<i>HEp</i> 3, 189
Lugoves	<i>Uxama</i>	Jimeno 1980: no. 22
Luguei (<i>dat.</i>)	Peñalba de Villastar (TE)	<i>HAE</i> , 792
Lumiis (<i>dat.</i>)	<i>Segobriga</i>	Almagro Basch 1984: no. 12
Matres	<i>Augustobriga</i>	Jimeno 1980: no. 1
Matres	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 15
Matres	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 16
Matres	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella, 1987: no. 17
Matres	Duración (SG)	Knapp 1992: no. 292
Matres	Duración (SG)	<i>HEp</i> 7, 765
Matres	Yanguas (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no. 35
Matres		
Brigia(e)cae	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 12
Matres Endeiterae	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 13
Matres Endeiterae	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 14
Matres Gallaicae	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 211
Matres		
Monitucinae	Salas de los Infantes (BU)	Abásolo 1974: no. 206
Mentoviacus deus	Zamora (ZA)	<i>CIL</i> II, 5649
Nemedus		
Augustus	Pedraza (SG)	<i>HEp</i> 5 (1995), 685–686
Nymphae	Baños de Cerrato (P)	Hernández Guerra 1994: no. 9
Nymphae	Las Aldehuelas (SO)	<i>HEp</i> 7, 933
Nymphae	<i>Complutum</i>	Knapp 1992: no. 118
Nymphae	<i>Mantua</i>	Knapp 1992: no. 210
Nymphae	Quintanilla Somuño (BU)	<i>HAE</i> , 2254
Nymphae	Torrejuncillo del Rey (CU)	Scheithauer and Wesch-Klein 1990: 234 n. 19
Nymphae	Valladolid (VA)	<i>AE</i> 1977, 493
Nymphae	Villabermudo (P)	Hernández Guerra 1994: no. 10
Nymphae		
Varcileneae	Arganda (M)	Knapp 1992: no. 198
Peicacoma	Hinojosa de la Sierra (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no. 15
Va[c?]ocius	Alconaba (SO)	Gómez-Pantoja 1999c

APPENDIX 4

Roman deities in inscriptions

<i>Deity</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Apollo	<i>Termes</i>	Calvo 1913: 383
Bac(ch)us(?)	<i>Segobriga</i>	Abascal and Cebrián 2000: no. 5
Bonus Eventus	<i>Segobriga</i>	Almagro Basch 1984: no. 11
Concordia		
Augusta	Uclés (CU)	Almagro Basch 1984: no. 13
Diana	Albarracín (TE)	<i>CIL</i> II, 5889
Diana	Sepúlveda (SG)	Hoyo 2000: 138
Diana domina	Almonacid (CU)	Almagro Basch 1984: no. 2
Diana(?)	Cenicientos (M)	Canto 1994: 277
Diana	unknown site near <i>Ercavica</i>	<i>CIL</i> II, 3168
Deana (<i>sic</i>)	Gálvez (TO)	<i>AE</i> 1992, 1045
Diana	Ocentejo (GU)	<i>AE</i> 1987, 651
Diana	<i>Segobriga</i> (Diana sanctuary)	<i>AE</i> 1985, 616
Diana	<i>Segobriga</i> (Diana sanctuary)	<i>AE</i> 1985, 617
Diana	<i>Segobriga</i> (Diana sanctuary)	<i>AE</i> 1985, 618
Diana	<i>Segobriga</i> (Diana sanctuary)	<i>AE</i> 1985, 619
Diana	<i>Segobriga</i> (Diana sanctuary)	<i>AE</i> 1986, 620
Deana(?)	Venta de San Juan (M)	Knapp 1992: no. 111
Genius	<i>Turiaso</i>	<i>AE</i> 1997, 935
Fortuna	Aldealseñor (SO)	<i>AE</i> 1995, 867
Fortuna	<i>Segobriga</i>	Almagro Basch 1984: no. 8

<i>Deity</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Fortuna	<i>Uxama</i>	Jimeno 1980: no. 21
Fortuna Balearis	Duración (SG)	Knapp 1992: no. 291
Fortuna Redux	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 6
Hercules	<i>Complutum</i>	Knapp 1992: no. 113
Hercules	Hontangas (BU)	<i>AE</i> 1978, 432
Hercules	Montalbo (CU)	Palomero Plaza 1987: 129
Hercules	Orgaz (TO)	<i>CIL</i> II, 6309
Hercules	San Esteban de Gormaz (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no. 26
Hercules	San Esteban de Gormaz (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no. 27
Hercules	San Esteban de Gormaz (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no. 28
Hercules	San Esteban de Gormaz (SO)	García Palomar and Gómez Pantoja 2001: 608
Hercules	San Esteban de Gormaz (SO)	García Palomar and Gómez Pantoja 2001: 609
Hercules	<i>Segobriga</i>	Almagro Basch 1984: no. 4
Hercules	<i>Segobriga</i>	Almagro Basch 1984: no. 5
Hercules	<i>Segobriga</i>	Almagro Basch 1984: no. 6
Herqules (<i>sic</i>)	Trévago (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no. 31
I.O.M.	Alcubilla del Marqués (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no. 3
I.O.M.	Argisuelas (CU)	Abascal 1999b: 218
I.O.M.	Barajas (M)	Knapp 1992: no. 190
I.O.M.	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 7
I.O.M.	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 9
I.O.M.	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 10
I.O.M.	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 210
I.O.M.	Covarrubias (BU)	Abásolo 1974: no. 6
I.O.M.	Gascas (CU)	<i>CIL</i> II, 3215
I.O.M.	Lupiana (GU)	<i>AE</i> 1987, 650
I.O.M.	<i>Numantia</i>	Jimeno 1980: no.11
I.O.M.	Riaguas de San Bartolomé (SG)	Santos Yanguas and Hoces 1999
I.O.M.	San Gregorio (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no. 16
I.O.M.	San Gregorio (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no.17
I.O.M.	Tardajos (BU)	<i>AE</i> 1991, 1051

<i>Deity</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
I.O.M.	<i>Uxama</i>	Jimeno 1980: no. 23
I.O.M. Conservator	Santervás del Burgo (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no.29
I.O.M. Setiens(is?)	Lara de los Infantes (BU)	Abásolo 1974: no. 37
Iuppiter (<i>dat.</i> Iovi)	Wamba (VA)	<i>AE</i> 1986, 390
Iuppiter Augustus Ultor	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 8
Lares	Collado Villalba (M)	Knapp 1992: no. 180
Lares	<i>Mantua</i>	Knapp 1992: no. 209
Lares Viales	Cervera del Río Alhama (R)	Espinosa 1986: no. 3
Lares Viales	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 11
Mars	Añavieja (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no. 5
Mars	Añavieja (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no. 6
Mars	Calderuela (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no. 7
Mars	<i>Complutum</i>	Knapp 1992: no. 114
Mars	<i>Complutum</i>	Knapp 1992: no. 115
Mars	Noviales (SO)	Gómez-Pantoja and García Palomar 1998
Mars	<i>Numantia</i>	Jimeno 1980: no. 9
Mars	Pinilla del Campo (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no.24
Mars	Talamanca de Jarama (M)	Knapp 1992: no. 171
Mars(?) (<i>dat.</i> [Mar]ti)	Valdanzo (SO)	<i>HEp</i> 4, 838
Mars	Villar del Campo (SO)	<i>HEp</i> 2, 669
Mars	Reznos (SO)	Jimeno Pascual and Ramírez 2002
Mars Augustus	<i>Complutum</i>	Knapp 1992: no. 116
Mars Magnus	Collado Villalba (M)	Knapp 1992: no. 181
Mavors(?)	Polán (TO)	<i>HEp</i> 7, 976
Mercurius	<i>Laminium</i>	<i>AE</i> 1987, 698
Mercurius	<i>Segobriga</i>	Almagro Basch 1984, no. 3
Mercurius(?)	Osa de la Vega (CU)	Abascal 1998: 260–1
Mercurius [Augustus?]	<i>Segobriga</i>	<i>AE</i> 1990, 595
Mercurius Augustus	<i>Uxama</i>	Jimeno 1980: no.20
Mercurius Ocniorocus	<i>Arcobriga</i>	Cerralbo 1987: 20 n. 28

<i>Deity</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Minerva	Duración (SG)	Knapp 1992: no. 293
Minerva	Duración (SG)	<i>HEp</i> 7, 764
Minerva	<i>Ercavica</i>	<i>AE</i> 1982, 619
Minerva	<i>Ercavica</i>	<i>AE</i> 1984, 587
Minerva	<i>Ercavica</i>	Palomero Plaza 1987: 115
Minerva	<i>Valeria</i>	unpublished
Minerva Augusta	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 18
Neptunus	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 19
Ne[ptun]us	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 20
Numen Theatri	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol and Vilella 1987: no. 21
Pantheus		
Augustus	<i>Complutum</i>	Knapp 1992: no. 119
Silvanus	Osa de la Vega (CU)	Rodríguez Colmenero 1982: 233
Silvanus	<i>Segobriga</i>	Almagro Basch 1984: no. 21
Silvanus	Vilviestre de los Nabos (SO)	Jimeno 1980: no.34
Tutela	<i>Complutum</i>	Knapp 1992: no. 121
Tutela	<i>Consabura</i>	<i>HAE</i> , 2269
V(enus) V(ictrix)?	Carranque (TO)	<i>HEp</i> 5, 780
Victoria Augusta	<i>Palantia</i>	Hernández Guerra 1994: no.12

APPENDIX 5

Roman deities in sculpture

<i>Deity</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Aesculapius	Valdetorres del Jarama (M)	Baquedano 1982: 60–1
Apollo *	<i>Termes</i>	Argente Oliver 1985: 68
Apollo	Duración (SG)	Gómez Santa Cruz 1992: 134
Apollo(?)	Toledo province	Jorge de Aragoneses 1957: 106–8
Cupid *	Burgos province	Elorza 1975: 159–61
Cupid *	<i>Palantia</i>	Becerro 1874: 71
Dea Roma	<i>Segobriga</i>	Blázquez Martínez 1965: 122–6
Diana	Cubillas de Cerrato (P)	Navarro García 1930–46, vol. 1: 58
Diana	<i>Palantia</i>	Navarro García 1930–46, vol. 4: 119
Diana	<i>Complutum</i>	Demetrio Calleja 1899: 184
Diana	<i>Segobriga</i>	Guevara <i>et al.</i> 1888: 362
Diana	<i>Segobriga</i>	Baena del Alcázar 1989: 99–100
Fortuna *	<i>Palantia</i>	García y Bellido 1966: 151
Fortuna *	Mota del Marqués (VA)	Palol and Wattenberg 1974: 107
Fortuna *	<i>Uxama</i>	García Merino 1971: 113
Fortuna *	Soria province	Aznar <i>et al.</i> 1990: 238
Fortuna(?) *	Villalazán (ZA)	García Rozas and Abásolo 1993: 181–4
Fortuna(?) *	Valdemaluque (SO)	Ortego 1949: 416–18
Hercules *	Támara (P)	Balil 1980: 17–24

<i>Deity</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Hercules *	<i>Palantia</i>	Sagredo San Eustaquio and Crespo Ortiz 1979–80: 156
Hercules	Valladolid province	García y Bellido 1949: no. 75
Hercules(?)	<i>Segovia</i>	Colmenares 1969, vol. 1: 31–2
Jupiter *	<i>Pisoraca</i>	Gamarra 1988: 263–4
Jupiter	Paredes de Nava (P)	Revilla Viéla 1948–51, vol. 2: 123
Jupiter	<i>Clunia</i>	Palol 1959: pl. XXXVI
Lar *	Almazán (SO)	Aznar <i>et al.</i> 1990: 198
Mars *	<i>Valeria</i>	Fuentes Domínguez 1983: 51
Mars	<i>Clunia</i>	Hinojal 1913: 231
Mercury *	Cubillas de Cerrato (P)	García y Bellido 1949: no. 69
Mercury *	Burgos (BU)	Anonymous 1982: 295
Mercury *	Lara de los Infantes (BU)	García y Bellido 1949: no. 67
Mercury *	Ubierna (BU)	Martínez Burgos 1935: 70
Mercury *	La Puebla de Montalbán (TO)	Cedillo 1959: 241
Mercury	<i>Complutum</i>	Fernández-Galiano 1976: pl. 32
Minerva *	<i>Segontia</i>	García Bellido 1949: no. 138
Minerva *	Madrid (M)	Fuidio 1934: 87
Minerva	<i>Turiaso</i>	M. Beltrán Lloris <i>et al.</i> 1980: 119
Saturn	Rioseco de Soria (SO)	Balil 1984: 325–40
Silvanus	Toro (ZA)	Sevillano 1955–6: 151–5
Venus	<i>Clunia</i>	Osaba y Ruíz 1954: 569–71
Venus	<i>Clunia</i>	Osaba y Ruíz 1954: 571–2
Venus	Tardajos (BU)	Huidobro 1909: 502–6
Venus	<i>Complutum</i>	Fernández-Galiano 1976: 49
Venus	<i>Complutum</i>	Fernández-Galiano 1984: 338

* Bronze sculpture.

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